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ABSTRACT

The final report evaluates residential treatment programs and in particular the Sage Hill Program for economically disadvantaged and disturbed teen-age boys. Evaluative studies are reviewed with regard to their substantive findings and methodological issues. It is explained that change sensitive measures, such as The Daily Behavior Rating Scale and The Teenagers Opinion Survey, were developed to evaluate the program. It is reported that the impact of a change in milieu from a ghetto to summer camp was examined in relation to the author's theory of social influence (which was central to the camp's rationale) using a variety of hypotheses to test the relevance of the theory. Appendixes (which comprise a major part of the document) with the following titles are among those included: "A Model for a Summer Camp and Follow-up Program for Poverty and/or Disturbed Teenagers", "Evaluating Residential Treatment Programs for Disturbed Children", and "Personality and Milieu - A Theory of Social Influence". (Author/PHR)

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EVALUATING RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT

A Study and A Model

Final Report
U. S. Office of Child Development
Grant Number OCD CB 319

Roderick Durkin, Ph.D.

EC112966

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Introduction

Each night some 150,000 children go to bed in approximately 2,500 residential institutions in the United States (Papenfort et al. 1969). Despite the trend away from large institutions isolated from the communities and families of the children, there is and will continue to be a need for residential programs for those children who have no one to live with or who are unsuited for community living. It is a widely held opinion that institutionalization, particularly of children, should be avoided at all costs. Given the nature of children's institutions in this country, this is probably a realistic opinion which has been corroborated by the research of Goffman (1961) and others. That group care for the "raising" and "treating" of children is necessarily negative has been questioned by Wollins (1974) who argues that powerful influences inherent in residential institutions make possible positive group care of children. He cites institutions such as the Israeli Kibbutz, the Austrian Kinderdorf, and Soviet boarding schools as instances of positive group care.

Given the continued need for residential facilities for children and the reluctance of communities to accept these children, it is important that the residential care of children in this country be upgraded. Evaluative research will necessarily play a significant role in the upgrading of residential facilities. Given the logical and methodological dilemmas inherent in evaluative research, it is essential that new instruments, methodologies and evaluative strategies be developed in order to provide data about the quality of institutions and their impact on residents.

Since 1966 the Sage Hill Program has been providing a residential and community based follow-up program for poverty and disturbed teenage boys. The Program is unique in its use of a brief summer camp interlude away from the distracting and diluting influences of the city, in combination with a year round follow-up program. It is no accident that a summer camp model was used for the residential portion of the program, because a summer camp is one of the few truly child oriented, rather than adult oriented, total institutions. It is free from the stigma attached to residential treatment programs, training schools and other total institutions for children. Specifically, the summer camp was used to develop salient relationships in order to make possible a more meaningful year round community based program. In this way, the program sought to maximize the advantages of both residential and community based programs while minimizing their disadvantages. The follow-up program provided recreation, paying jobs for campers as tutors of younger children and weekend camping trips. During the year, the staff advocated for children with regard to their numerous legal, medical, psychiatric, drug, family and welfare problems, etc.

An important goal of the camp program was to break down the barriers between children and staff and make the staff more influential in terms of changing poverty relevant attitudes, motivations and interpersonal behavior. To encourage the development of salient relationships, the staff and campers worked together to build the entire facilities of two summer camps. Everyone participated most visibly in the nightly meetings, in a one-man, one-vote democratic governing of the program. Staff were recruited in a "new careers" -type training program, by bringing campers up through the ranks as junior counselors; this program provided a way to maintain the involvement of older adolescents while providing the camp with staff.

The research reported here seeks to make a contribution to the instruments, methodologies, and evaluative strategies in general and to evaluate the Sage Hill Camp and Year Round Follow-Up Program in particular.

In addition to replicating previous evaluative studies of the program, the research developed some new instruments and strategies for program evaluation. Specifically, the research addressed itself to the following issues:

1. It sought to identify and measure the domains of attitudes which were both relevant to the goals of the program and sensitive to change. Using factor analytic procedures change scores at the

item level of the Teenagers' Opinion Survey (TOS) were factor analyzed and scales constructed which were intended to be more sensitive to change. Process measures or daily behavior ratings were developed which could be used to plot changes over time and could be related to a variety of pre- and postmeasures of attitudes and personality traits, etc.

For the sake of continuity, the subsequent replications of the camp experiments are included in this discussion of the development and utilization of the change scores. While the data from these experiments is presented here, its salience as an experiment vis a vis the theory of social influence is discussed subsequently in Section III. Thus Section I includes the factor analysis of change scores and replications of the camp experiment in which the camp had been found to reduce alienation and to increase self-control in the camp group in comparison to a randomly assigned group.

[1] A detailed description and analysis, i.e. evaluation of the summer camp and year round follow-up program, is presented in Appendix A. The program is described and analyzed in the format of the model that was developed in the course of this research. It utilizes an open systems perspective, and seeks to provide a generalizable model for describing and analyzing residential treatment programs for children. Specifically, this model calls for the delineation of the program's assumptions, goals and the particularized means for achieving them. The roles of all staff are examined. A systems analysis is used to delineate the various components of the program such as the work program, junior counselor program, evening meetings, the community follow-up programs, etc., as well as their interrelationships. This paper then is both an example of the generalizable model developed in the course of this research for describing residential programs and a detailed description and analysis of the Sage Hill Camp and Follow-Up Program. An even more detailed history and analysis of the program will be provided in a forthcoming book.

2. A process evaluation of the program sought to determine the psychological and attitudinal characteristics of those individuals who participated in varying degrees in the program through a process of self-selection.

Regression studies and data relevant to the social anchoring of alienation relevant behavior are discussed here. The attempt to pre- and postdict those campers who were rated as having benefited from the camp, and through a process of self-selection, selectively participated over the years, is examined. Whereas the previous section dealt with the evaluation of the camp, this section deals with what children camp to camp and how this might have been predicted. The research reported here looks at the process measures throughout the camp and attempts to test some hypotheses about how alienated children behave over time.

3. Relevant to the theory of "Personality and Milieu: A Theory of Social Influence" (Durkin, 1972), a variety of hypotheses were tested regarding social influence and the social anchoring of personality and attitudinal characteristics. Specifically, hypotheses were tested regarding the similarity of personality characteristics and attitudes of family members and of campers brought together through self-selection. Included in this section are discussion of the camp as a social influence experiment, the

similarity of parents and their child's attitudes: the similarity of the attitudes of campers' friends in the community and of sociometric choices among campers and staff; and finally, alienation and its correlates.

4. The literature on the evaluation of residential treatment programs for disturbed children was reviewed with regard to its methodological issues and its substantive findings. It was concluded that even if one can do a methodologically sound outcome or goal attainment type study, there are severe limitations to the usefulness of such a study. A generalizable model utilizing an open systems perspective is presented to describe and analyze, i.e. evaluate residential treatment programs for children. While this model does not preclude outcome or goal attainment type studies, it focuses on delineating a program's goals and the way it is organized to achieve them and to provide ongoing feedback about the functioning of the program. The review of the literature and the generalizable model have been published elsewhere (Durkin & Durkin, 1975); a copy of this chapter is presented in Appendix B.

In summary, the four focal points of the research reported here have dealt with the instruments, methodologies and strategies for evaluating residential treatment programs in general and for evaluating the Sage Hill Summer Camp and Follow-Up Program in particular. Some hypotheses relevant to the theory of social influence were tested. The following sections report on these four areas of research.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION OF ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL MEASURES SENSITIVE TO CHANGE

Logically there is an inherent dilemma in the utilization of highly reliable measures, as measured by pre-test post test reliability, for evaluative studies. Presumably programs to be evaluated are likely to seek to change attitudes, personalities, characteristics and behavior, and it is thus important that instruments be developed which are sensitive to meaningful change. Clearly, attitudes, personality characteristics and behavior can be arranged on a continuum from those that are unlikely to change, such as "an oral personality type", to those which are easily and perhaps capriciously changed, such as by getting up on the wrong side of the bed. If evaluative studies seek to assess changes in the unchangeable domains of attitudes and traits, they are doomed to conclude that the program did not affect change. If, on the other hand, evaluators assess the more ephemeral aspects of personality and behavior, their work may be of little relevance for the program being evaluated. Presumably scales should be developed and utilized which measure a medium range of reliability; that is, instruments which are designed to determine changes in characteristics which are both changeable and meaningful vis a vis the goals of a particular program.

Two exploratory studies presented here sought to develop measures of changeable, poverty relevant attitudes and behaviors using factor analytic procedures. These instruments were then used to evaluate the impact of the summer camp experience. The development and utilization of these measures in a variety of experimental designs, including both matched T tests and repeated measures, trend analysis of variance are presented.

In the effort to develop scales sensitive to change, daily behavior ratings on 75 items of behavior were made each day on each camper in the Vermont summer camp of 1969 and '70. Scales were constructed using factor analytic procedures and their psychometric characteristics were determined. The daily behavior ratings were used to detect trends in behavior for the entire group and for specific subgroups over time. Using the data collected in 1970, trends in daily behavior ratings for those high in alienation and low in alienation were compared in order to test hypotheses regarding the social anchoring of alienation relevant behavior.

In brief, the research reported in this section sought to develop attitudinal and behavioral measures which were sensitive to change. These measures were subsequently used to assess:

1. Changes in attitudes as a result of the camp experience and,
2. Changes in behavior in the camp group and subgroups over time relevant to the testing of hypotheses regarding the social anchoring of alienation.

These studies, particularly the one to develop measures of changeable attitudes, must be considered exploratory, as they are based on the reanalysis of data which was collected in another context and which was not specifically intended for this purpose.

The hypotheses concerning the reduction of alienation and the increase in self control as a result of the camp experience, which is a replication of previous research (Durkin, 1969), are included in this section. One test of the success of developing change sensitive scales is their usefulness in studies of change compared to non-change scores, derived from the TOS which were not based on a factor analysis of change scores at the item level. These non-change scores (hereafter referred to as raw scores) will be compared to the change scores (that is, those derived from the factor analysis of change scores at the item level), to see if there are differences in terms of sensitivity to change between the change scores and the raw scores when utilized in a matched T test and repeated measure or trend analysis of variance experimental design. As in the testing of hypotheses using the change oriented attitude scales, the usefulness of change sensitive measures is determined in part by their use in the testing of hypotheses. These hypotheses are thus included in the section of the development of change sensitive measures.

1. The Factor Analysis of Change Scores at the Item Level of the Teenager's Opinion Survey (TOS)

Between June 1967 and June 1971 the Teenager's Opinion Survey

(TOS) was administered, and 947 usable protocols were obtained. The details of the administration of the questionnaire and its factor analysis and scale construction are described in "Breaking the Poverty Cycle: A Strategy and Its Evaluation" (Durkin, 1969). Briefly, however, about 60% of the questionnaires were administered by the researcher and the usual precautions were taken regarding the administration of the questionnaire. In addition, all subjects felt that they were taking the questionnaire anonymously. They were instructed to fill out the front page and then to tear it off and hand it in separately. Through a system of unnoticeable pinpricks the face sheets were then matched with the questionnaires for each subject which made it possible to match subsequent tests to the respondent and in turn made possible the computation of change scores at the item level. An earlier version of the Teenager's Opinion Survey (TOS) included 106 items. This was used only with Colorado youngsters in 1967. After that a 117 item version of the questionnaire was used. The additional 11 items were added at the end of the questionnaire and included items about the importance of various aspects of work. In general, the items were drawn from a pool of items that were regarded as relevant to poverty. The domains tapped included self-esteem, adult's view of the subject, alienation, attitudes about work, locus of accountability and the effectiveness of group action.

To minimize the problems in the administration of paper and pencil tests to youngsters with poor reading skills, several techniques were used. The Likert scale items and items on a continuum had geometric representations. In the case of the Likert scale, the agree-disagree continuum was represented with boxes and circles of increasing size. The items were represented on a continuum with circles of decreasing size indicating decreased personal responsibility or group effectiveness, etc. The items were worded so as to be comprehensible to youngsters with an elementary school reading ability. In addition, some youngsters who encountered difficulty were read the questionnaire or it was played on a tape for them.

In order to build scales which were sensitive to change, factor analysis was conducted of change scores at the item level for the 106 or 117 item versions of the TOS. Computed were 405 change scores that cover periods of time ranging from 5 weeks to 1 year. The subjects used in the computation of change scores included youngsters incarcerated in Denver's Juvenile Hall, a detention facility; students participating in a summer retrieval program at Harlem Intermediate School 201; and 305 campers who attended the various Sage Hill summer camps only. 150 different individuals were included in the computation of these 405 sets of change scores. Campers returning to the camp for different periods of time were included in the study. In other words, one camper might be represented by more than one set of change scores if he returned for subsequent years. This violation of the assumption of independent measures and its implications for the factor analysis is discussed later.

The 405 sets of change scores were intercorrelated at the item level in a 117 by 117 matrix (except for those for whom the last 11 items were deleted, namely the 1967 Colorado group). From 5 to 10 principal components were extracted and were then rotated to a varimax or orthogonal solution.

The factor analysis was relegated to a procedure for the initial item selection. The final selection of items was determined on the basis of the psychometric characteristics of the individual items as they related to the derived scales. For want of a sufficiently large sample of change scores, an important assumption of factor analysis was violated; namely, the assumption of independence of the units. The 405 sets of change scores were based on only 150 different individuals; i.e., repeated measures of change on the same camper for different periods of time were considered independent when in fact they were not. Of these 405 change scores, 305 were based on youngsters who had attended the camp. Even with violation of the assumption of independence in order to increase the sample size, a sample size of 405 sets of change scores remains relatively small for the factor analysis of a correlation matrix of 117 x 117 variables.

In order to determine the importance of the violation of the assumption of independence of units, separate factor analyses were conducted on 150 first administrations only and on campers only. These were compared with the factor analysis of the total 405 sets of change scores. Even when smaller samples were factor analyzed, lessening the reliability of the factor structure, upon inspection the different factor analyses seemed to represent relatively invariant solutions. Given that the factor analysis was used only for the selection of items, and that the items were examined in terms of psychometric characteristics, the violation of the assumptions of factor analysis and the utilization of such a small sample appears to have had a relatively small effect on the scale construction.

More important than the factor analysis and scale construction were the psychometric characteristics of the items and the scales. Using a Likert scaling program (Cohler, Thomas, and Durkin, 1973), the scales were scored and the psychometric characteristics of the items and scales determined.

Missing data for scales where 80% of the data were present were prorated, constants were used to reverse items. The program provides the means and standard deviations of the scales. It also presents both the interitem correlation matrix for each scale and the interscale correlation matrix. The item to scale score correlation is computed with the item included in the scale score and with that item deleted from the scale score. This procedure gives an indication of the relevant contribution of each item to the scale score. Finally alpha is computed for each scale providing a measure of its internal consistency.

In some instances, the factor loadings derived from the 10 principal component or factor solution would not suggest that they belong to the scales. Those items with low factor loading may have been the result of a compromise scale or derived from another factor analysis in which fewer principal components were extracted, etc. Such earlier factor analyses are not presented here. In some cases, these items would not appear to scale on the basis of the 10 factor solution. However, a better indication of their appropriateness for inclusion is given by their item to scale correlation with the item included and with the item deleted. In some instances scales were arbitrarily selected for reasons which are discussed.

Finally, it should be noted that the 11 change factors were computed on each and every one of the 947 TOS protocols; except, of course where there was too much missing data to meet the 80% criteria for prorating. In other words, the scales derived from the factor analysis of change scores were computed for each separate administration of the TOS and not for the 405 sets of change scores based on pre and post administrations used in the factor analysis. This was done in order to increase the sample size. Logically, it would make little difference if the items defining the scale were computed on the basis of change scores (that is, pre from post test scores) or from the one time administration of the TOS.

With all the limitations imposed by violation of the assumptions of independence of units in the factor analysis and the relatively small sample size, the following results from the factor analysis and the Likert scoring program are presented for each of the 11 factors derived from the change scores. For each scale a brief description of the underlying dimension of the scale is presented. The items defining the scales and their variable numbers are presented. A - sign preceding the variable number indicates that it is reversed. The factor loadings from the factor analysis of the 305 campers change scores is presented because the factor analysis of these subjects' scores is most relevant to the evaluation of the impact of the camp. In addition, the item to scale score correlation with the item included and deleted are presented. Finally, the alpha for the entire scale is presented.[2]

To anticipate a question that will be raised later: did the factor analysis of change scores yield scales which measured different domains and/or did they measure similar domains but use different items to define these dimensions? To answer this question it will be necessary to compare scales constructed from the factor analysis of change scores with scales constructed from the factor analysis of one time administration, or non change scores, again for want of a better word, referred to as raw scores.[3] Briefly, separate factor analyses extracting principle components and rotating to a varimax solution were done on the Colorado and Vermont data. A test for invariance was conducted and it was determined that essentially, similar factors structures occurred in the two different samples. Compromise scales were then constructed. These scales in order are: Attitudes towards work (R2); Personal responsibility (R3), Adults think I am; (R1A); Group Effectiveness (R4); Anomia (R5); Self-esteem (R1B). These six scales have numbers in the parentheses R2, R3, etc.; the R indicates that it is a raw score, the number following it indicates the domain where the number is the same; the A and B after that designates different facets of the domain. The numbers indicate the domain and correspond with change scale scores measuring a similar domain. For instance, R1A and R1B are both dimensions of evaluation of the self, one by an adult, one by oneself. These correspond to change scores 1, 2 and 3; namely, evaluation right, left and combined which are designated C1A, C1B, C1C. It is hoped that having scales described in parenthesis will identify the similar domain and will make the eventual comparison between change and raw score more understandable. Therefore, next to the change scores numbers 1 to 11 will be the designation using C1A, etc. Such a designation will be helpful in the presentation of data in the analysis of variance of five separate camps on the 17 scales presented. Finally, the items defining the raw scales, the item to scale correlation with the item included and deleted, and alpha are presented in Appendix C. The following are the descriptions and psychometric characteristics of the change scales.

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[2] The data from the various factor analyses of different samples and extracting different numbers of principal components and their respective psychometric characteristics are available upon request from the principal investigator. For reasons of succinctness and clarity they are not included here for they are indeed mind boggling.

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[3] The factor analysis and scoring of the raw scores is described in the U.S. Department of Labor Report, "Breaking the Poverty Cycle; A Strategy and Its Evaluation," (Durkin, 1969).

The first three factors -- evaluation right change 1 (C1A); evaluation left change 2 (C1B); evaluation combined change 3 (C1C) -- must be considered together despite the fact that they comprise separate scales. These factors are all in the semantic differential format with adjectives presented on a bi-polar dimension being checked as "I Am" or "Adults Think I Am." This raises the possibility that the factors are a response to the format of the items rather than the content of the item. However, it should be recalled that the factor analysis was on change scores and the variables being factor analyzed are changes between pre and post tests which were administered anywhere from 5 weeks to one year apart in time. These factors are puzzling because evaluation right includes those items whose positive side is keyed to the right side of the dimension and those items on evaluation left were based on items where the positive side is scored to the left. The positioning of the positive side was randomly distributed in the presenting of the original scales of the TOS.

Change 1-C C-1-A)
Scale Evaluation Right
Alpha .881

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un Correct R
77	I am: stupid-smart	.525	.56	.62
79	I am: unfriendly-friendly	.338	.48	.55
80	I am: selfish-unselfish	.344	.43	.51
82	I am: weak-strong	.622	.54	.61
83	I am: slow-fast	.501	.53	.60
85	I am: inferior-superior	.365	.43	.50
86	I am: square-cool	.464	.48	.55
87	I am: mean-kind	.492	.50	.58
	Adults think I am:			
89	- stupid-smart	.546	.61	.68
91	- unfriendly-friendly	.583	.61	.68
92	- selfish-unselfish	.436	.50	.59
94	- weak-strong	.590	.58	.65
95	- slow-fast	.555	.57	.64
97	- inferior-superior	.336	.48	.56
98	- square-cool	.598	.56	.63
99	- mean-kind	.581	.57	.65

Change 2 (C-1-B)
Scale Evaluation Left
Alpha .805

Var.		Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Uncorrect R
-76	I am:	god-bad	.081	.47	.60
-81	I am:	important-unimportant	.093	.48	.64
		Adults think I am:			
-88	-	good-bad	.367	.64	.77
-90	-	useful-useless	.146	.62	.76
-93	-	important-unimportant	.132	.62	.76
-96	-	hardworking-lazy	.383	.56	.73

Change 3 (C-1-C)
Scale Evaluation All*
Alpha .903

Var.		Item	Correct R	Uncorrect R
-76	I am:	good-bad	.46	.51
77	I am:	stupid-smart	.53	.58
79	I am:	unfriendly-friendly	.45	.49
80	I am:	selfish-unselfish	.39	.46
-81	I am:	important-unimportant	.45	.51
82	I am:	weak-strong	.52	.57
83	I am:	slow-fast	.49	.54
85	I am:	inferior-superior	.39	.45
86	I am:	square-cool	.42	.47
87	I am:	mean-kind	.48	.54
		Adults think I am:		
-88	-	good-bad	.55	.61
89	-	stupid-smart	.67	.72
-90	-	useful-useless	.55	.60
91	-	unfriendly-friendly	.63	.68
92	-	selfish-unselfish	.51	.57
-93	-	important-unimportant	.57	.63
94	-	weak-strong	.60	.65
95	-	slow-fast	.58	.63
-96	-	hard-working-lazy	.51	.57
97	-	inferior-superior	.51	.57
98	-	square-cool	.54	.58
99	-	mean-kind	.60	.64

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* This Compromise Scale has no factor loadings.

Probably some sort of response bias accounts for the factors being derived from changes in items keyed left and right. However, a simple response position bias is questionable in that it must be remembered that these are factor analyses of change scores. That is, the scores being factor analyzed are not pre-test or post-test but shifts between the two. In other words, items that change together comprise the scale. Similarly, explanations that the factors are clustering those items which were subjected to a regression towards the mean phenomena is questionable; the items regressed to the mean independently of one another and the changes occurred over a considerable time.

Factor 3 was not derived from a factor analysis and thus no factor loadings are presented. These items, comprising the combined evaluation scale, (C1C) were simply combined in a general evaluative factor in order to determine how the items intercorrelated in their scale characteristics. In summary, the dimensions defined in these factors are preception of self by Adults and by self. The items were presented in a semantic differential format. Factors 1 and 2 differ from the original factor analysis, (that is, score 3 (R1A) and raw score 6 (R1B), which was not based on the positioning of the positive side of the dimension.

Change scores 4,5 and 6 all have to do with various aspects of work and therefore are given a designation of C2A, C2B and C2C, all of which are comparable in terms of the domain to the raw factor designated R2. The change scale score number 4, "Important in Work" (C2A), is comprised of items asking what is important to you about work. The responses were on a five point scale ranging from very important to not very important. In this format, people described the importance of enjoying their work, of the people you work with, and of a sense of satisfaction from work. Another facet to the dimension is the importance of being told exactly what should be done, to be paid for your work, and trying to complete it as quickly as possible. Having a boss as a friend is also evaluated. The factor then describes various attributes of the job, and their relative importance in work.

The following are the items and psychometric characteristics of the importance of work (C-2-A).

Change 4 (C-2-A)
Scale Important in Work
Alpha .878

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un-Correct R
	People have different ideas about what is important to them when working on a job. We would like to know what you think is important about a job. Below are some of the things people think are important about working on a job.			
110	Enjoying the work you do.	.281	.62	.71
111	Having a strict boss.	.511	.53	.64
112	Being told exactly what needs to be done.	.365	.70	.79
113	Seeing how much you can get done.	.384	.72	.79
114	Enjoying the people you work with.	.376	.69	.77
115	The pay you get for the work.	.452	.66	.76
116	Being able to get the work over with quickly so you can do what you want	.242	.55	.67
117	Having a boss who is also a good friend.	.539	.67	.76

Change factor 5, "Like Work" (C2B), described the various things one likes about work. It differs from what is important in work in that it focuses more on enjoying the work. Items suggest that work can be as enjoyable as play and that it can also be exciting, fun, good, important and satisfying. The items are presented in both a Likert format and a semantic differential format.

Change 5 (C-2-B)
Scale Like Work
Alpha .743

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un-Correct R
-28	I always do my fair share of the work.	.332	.28	.43
-30	I enjoy work as much as play.	.029	.44	.60
-33	I enjoy doing hard jobs.	.264	.48	.64
	Most work is:			
101	unexciting-exciting	.417	.46	.64
-102	fun-boring	.078	.54	.70
103	bad-good	.299	.42	.58
-105	important-unimportant	.049	.39	.54
-106	satisfying-unsatisfying	.267	.46	.63

Change scale number 6, "Company Man" (C2C) is defined by items presented in both a semantic differential format and in a Likert scale format. The item espouses a rather pollyannic view of work. It suggests that work is important in terms of achieving success, that it is easy to get along with people, and that you should, even if you can't stand them. It states that most successful people are honest and good. It rejects the view that having pull is more important than hard work and claims that a person is responsible for doing one's job well. In summary, it suggests that it is easy to work with others and that work is important and satisfying. It represents a company man's view of work. It should be noted that items 31 and 44 were included in the alienation measure in the raw scale (R5).

Change 6 (C-2-C)
Scale Company Man
Alpha .721

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un-Correct R
- 1	It is easy to get along with most people.	.387	.25	.37
- 7	Hard work is the key to success.	.339	.35	.47
- 9	If a man will work hard and study today, he can be pretty assured that a job will be open for him later.	.152	.37	.48
-26	Ordinarily, any man willing to work can get a job.	.142	.33	.48
-31	Even if you can't stand someone you should still be nice to them.	.528	.46	.58
-41	Successful people are mostly honest and good.	.290	.33	.48
-43	You should be honest, no matter what.	.295	.43	.56
-47	You can always find something ahead of you which makes life worth living.	.201	.34	.46
-57	It is smart to be nice to important people even if you really don't like them.	.340	.30	.45
-67	How responsible do you think a person is for not doing his job well?	.257	.21	.31
-84	I am: hardworking - lazy	.266	.25	.39
	Most work is:			
101	unexciting-exciting	.417	.35	.51
103	bad-good	.299	.32	.46
-13	Having pull is more important than ability in getting ahead.	.043	.39	.48

Change score scale Number 7, Group Effectiveness, (C4), is identical to the scale constructed on the factor analysis of one time administrations or in other words, the raw score. The items defining this dimension are that people working together can put an end to wars, stop police brutality and racial prejudice. They can change the laws so that they are fair to all people and a group of people can be effective in getting a large project done if they help one another. It emphasizes the importance of group efforts and the items are presented in a continuum, from the group's being very effective to not very effective.

Change 7 (C-4)
Scale Group Effectiveness
Alpha .776

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Uncorrect R
-68	Putting an end to wars	.304	.54	.71
-69	Stopping police brutality	.155	.54	.70
-70	Getting a large project done or built	.004	.39	.57
-72	Ending racial prejudice	.031	.57	.74
-73	Changing the laws so they are fair to all people	.062	.57	.74
-74	Helping each other when a person needs some help	.299	.45	.61

Change score scale number 8, Personal Responsibility (C3) is also the same as raw scale (R3). It emphasizes that the person is responsible for such things as getting a speeding ticket, going with a crowd that gets them into trouble, getting into trouble with the law, for finding a job, and for not doing a job well. The following are the items defining the scale and their psychometric characteristics:

Change 8 (C-3)
Scale Personal Responsibility
Alpha .828

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un-Correct R
-61	How responsible do you think a person usually is if he catches a cold?	.543	.38	.55
-62	How responsible do you think a person is if he gets a ticket for speeding?	.574	.67	.79
-63	How responsible do you think a person usually is for going with a crowd that is always getting him in trouble?	.549	.69	.81
-65	How responsible do you think a person usually is for getting in trouble with the law?	.517	.69	.80
-66	How responsible do you think a person usually is for not being able to find a job?	.530	.49	.65
-67	How responsible do you think a person is for not doing his job well?	.397	.66	.77

Change factor 9 Alienation (C5A) is an alienation scale which holds a pessimistic view for the future **suggesting** that "The life of man is getting worse", and that "it is sad to have to grow up with the way things look for the future". With regard to work, the scale suggests, "If I could live comfortably without working I would not work" and, "Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want." It further suggests that people working together can't do much to improve their living conditions. The individual is regarded as being passive, his future is largely a matter of fate, and success is "more dependent on luck than ability." With regard to people it holds that, "You don't know these days who you can count on," and "It hurts more to lose money than a friend". With regard to the role of government the scale pessimistically suggests that "It is useless to write public officials because they are not interested in your problems", and "A good leader has to be strict with the people under him". Furthermore, it suggests that, "The world is run by a few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it," and disagrees with the statement that the government will "see to it that the people in this country will have a better way of life." In general, the scale suggests a pessimistic view of the future and work and regards the individual as passive in the face of, what is at best, a disinterested fate. In addition, it espouses the view that people are not to be trusted, and that the government can do little to improve the conditions. This scale includes six items, numbers 16, 25, 32, 37, 42 and 45 of the original alienation scale, raw scale (R5).

Change 9 (C-5-A)
Scale Alienation
Alpha .738

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un-Correct R
- 6	In spite of what people say, the life of man is getting worse.	.433	.25	.39
- 8	It is sad to have to grow up in this world the way things look for the future.	.274	.32	.45
-14	If I could live comfortably without working, I would not work.	.324	.26	.41
-16	It's useless to write public officials because your problems don't interest them.	.332	.40	.51
-22	This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.	.400	.40	.53
-25	Success is more dependent on luck than on real ability.	.091	.44	.56
-32	There are two kinds of people in the world: The weak and the strong.	.108	.37	.50
-37	Never tell anyone why you did something unless it will help you.	.492	.42	.54
-40	It hurts more to lose money than to lose a friend.	.234	.37	.55
-42	A criminal is just like other people except that he is stupid enough to get caught.	.031	.45	.57
-44	Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want.	.249	.34	.47
-45	I really don't care what kind of work I do so long as it pays well.	.094	.33	.47
-52	It is up to the Government to make sure that everyone has a good job and enough money to live comfortably.	.104	.38	.51
75	Improving their living conditions. (How much do you think groups of people working together and helping one another can do in improving their living conditions?)	.187	.08	.16

Change factor number 10, "Powerlessness" (C5B), emphasized the personal powerlessness of the individual. Items 25, 32 and 42 overlap with the raw score factor (R5) and items 25, 32, 42 and 87 overlap with previous scales. This factor focuses more on the powerlessness of the individuals. Specifically, it rejects the idea of enjoying doing things better than other people and disagrees with the fact that any man willing to work can find a job. It states that "There are two kinds of people in the world, the weak and the strong", and suggests that "Most people won't work unless they are forced to." Again the individual is passive with luck being more important than ability in getting ahead. It is cynical about human nature and suggests that, "You can't trust people." In it the respondent says that he is mean, and that adults thought he was useless. In general, this scale has the same Machiavellian view of life with perhaps greater emphasis on the powerlessness of the individual.

Change 10 (C-5-B)
Scale Alienation
Alpha .527

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un-Correct R
5	I like to be able to do things better than other people.	.357	.10	.32
-25	Success is more dependent on luck than on real ability.	.466	.31	.55
-26	Ordinarily, any man willing to work can get a job.	.313	.16	.40
-32	There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong	.401	.37	.60
-42	A criminal is just like other people except he is stupid enought to get caught.	.418	.37	.61
-50	You can't trust most people	.286	.27	.50
-58	Most people won't work unless you make them do it.	.169	.31	.54
-87	I am: mean-kind	.313	.06	.29

Change scale number 11 Alienation (C5C) contains items which overlap with the alienation raw factor (R5); namely, items 16 and 25. Furthermore, the items overlap with those on C5A, including items numbers 6, 8, 14, 22, 25, 40 and 44. It should be noted that items 44, 40, 22, 14, 8 and 6 overlap with only the previous factor but not with the raw scale number R5.

On this scale facets of alienation and pessimism are again espoused. The future is viewed pessimistically with life getting worse and it being, "Sad to grow up with the way that things look for the future." Work is similarly regarded as an unpleasant necessity and as "unimportant." It is also acceptable "to cheat a little if you need to get what you want."

This factor is slightly different in that it has a greater emphasis on the role of the government and group action. It suggests again that "It is useless to write public officials," and "The world is run by a few people in power." It disagrees with a statement that it is up to the government to make sure that everybody has "a better way of life" and that there is little people can do to improve their living living conditions. Again the individual is passive with regard to success, which is viewed as more "dependent on luck than real ability," and finally, people are regarde in a cynical and machiavellian way. "There are two kinds of people in the world the weak and the strong," and "you should never tell someone why you did something unless it would help you." Again, "It hurts more to lose money than a friend," and "A criminal is just like other people except he is stupid enought to get caught." In summary, this factor is similar in content and items both to the raw factor 5 and the previous change factor 9. This will be discussed further in contrasting the change factors with the raw factors.

Change 11 (C-5-C)
Scale Powerlessness
Alpha 660

Var.	Item	Factor Loading	Correct R	Un Correct R
- 6	In spite of what people say, the life of man is getting worse.	.433	.26	.40
- 8	It is sad to have to grow up in this world the way things look for the future.	.274	.33	.46
-14	If I could live comfortably without working, I would not work.	.324	.27	.42
-16	It's useless to write public officials because your problems don't interest them.	.332	.41	.53
-18	Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect.	.284	.10	.25
-19	A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for him.	.347	.35	.48
-22	This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.	.400	.39	.53
-25	Success is more dependent on luck than on real ability.	.091	.37	.51
34	The government will see to it that the people in this country will have a better way of life.	.337	.03	.18
-35	These days a person doesn't know who he can count on.	.230	.27	.40
-40	It hurts more to lose money than to lose a friend.	.234	.32	.47
-44	Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want.	.249	.31	.44
-47	You can always find something ahead of you which makes life worth living.	.492	.36	.49
-74	Helping each other when a person needs some help.	.017	.13	.22
-87	I am mean...........................kind	.037	.17	.31
90	Adults think I am useful.............useless.	.137	.13	.28
105	Most work is important...........unimportant.	.103	.14	.26

These, then, are the 11 scales derived from a factor analysis of change scores at the item level for the purpose of constructing scales which have a medium range of reliability and would thus be more sensitive to detect changes in attitudes. In presenting the psychometric characteristics of the scales, it must be recalled that the factor analysis was used merely for item selection. The important data are the psychometric characteristics of the scale. For reasons previously discussed, (specifically the use of repeated measures on the same individuals, treating them as independent observations and the relatively small sample size of 405 change scores with a factor analysis of 117 variables). This factor analysis and scale construction must be regarded as preliminary and tentative. Where the factor loadings given do not appear to justify inclusion in the scale, their inclusion may be based on high factor loadings on a previous factor analysis. These then, are the change scales derived from a factor analysis with change scores at the item level for 405 pairs of administrations of the TOS.

2. A Comparison of the Factor Analytically Derived Change Scale Scores and Raw Scales

The rationale for the development of scales sensitive to change was briefly:

1. That attitudes, personality characteristics, etc., could be arranged on a continuum from those which were enduring and unlikely to change to those which were ephemeral and likely to change in a capricious way.

2. Evaluation studies seeking to assess the impact of programs on individuals will need to look for change in a medium range of test-retest reliability of the psychological characteristics. In order to identify such "changeable" dimensions, a factor analysis of change scores at the item level of the TOS was conducted and then utilized in analysis of variance of designs using both a trend analysis and a matched T test comparing control groups and camp groups. Two questions to be considered in this study are:

1) Were the attitude scales derived from the factor analysis of change scores in fact different from those of the raw scales?

2) Did these scales prove more sensitive to change in comparison with the raw scale scores? While these questions are highly intertwined they are to be dealt with separately for analytic purposes.

The first question to be considered is the extent to which different scales were derived from the factor analysis of change scores. One means of determining this is the extent to which change scales differed from the six raw scales constructed on the basis of one time administration. Contrasting the scales derived from these procedures, one finds that the first three scales, evaluation left, right and combined (that is scales C1A, C1B, and C1C), are essentially similar to the raw "I am" scale (R1B) and the raw "Adults Think I Am" scale (R1A). Arbitrarily, the change scales evaluation left and right, C1A and C1B, were combined. This combined scale shared 22 out of the 24 items of the raw scale factor. In short, these factors are little different from those of the raw scale scores

Similarily change scale 7 (C4) and change scale 9 (C3) are little different from the raw scale scores. In the case of change scale 7, group effectiveness, all of the raw scale, R4, items were included with two additional items in the change scale. With regard to the personal responsibility scale, R3, all six of the raw scale items, R3, were included in the change scale 8 (C3), again with two additional items. In short, the raw scales for Self-esteem, Adults Think I Am, Group Effectiveness and Personal Responsibility differ little from the change scales.

With regard to both sets of change and raw scales, it should be noted that the "I am" and "Adults Think I am" items were in a semantic differential format, which differed from other items on the scale. Similarl Personal Responsibility and Group Effectiveness scales were also different from the Likert format and presented a 5 point continuum ranging from "highl effective" or "highly responsible" to "not effective at all" and "not responsible at all." These items, formated similarly, were grouped together lending some credence to the suggestion that they reflect a response set; i.e., the form of the items evoked similar responses. Items were grouped in a common format because of the problems of administering paper and pencil tests to disadvantaged and often barely literate youngsters. Ideally these items should have been distributed throughout the TOS randomly, but that procedure would have added to the complexity of the scale. Consequentl what might have been gained in the terms of methodological purity would have been lost in error variance. The price of this choice is, of course, the questioning of the scale to the extent that it may reflect a response bias.

From the remaining five sets of scales we find that two sets of similar scales -- namely, the raw scale Alienation scale (R5) and the raw scale of Attitudes about Work (R2) -- each split into three moderately different change scales, each of which reflects slightly different facets of the original raw scale. The items that overlap can be found in the original description of the change and the raw scales. For our purposes we will simply discuss the degree to which different scales emerged on the basis of the factor analysis of change scores.

Change scale number 4 (C2A) is composed of items in a unique format. These items ask about the degree of importance of various aspects of work, such as the type of work, pay, working conditions, etc. While distinct from the raw factor (R2), it is impossible to discuss their overlap because all of the items defining change scale 4 (C-2-A) were not included in the factor analysis on the basis of which the raw scales were constructed. These items were added at the end of the survey to assess additional attitudes about work and were included in the study at a later point. Therefore, this change scale (C2A) is essentially irrelevant to the question of the degree to which change scales differed from raw change scales.

On change scale 5 (C2B), 4 out of 9 items overlap with the raw scale (R2) items about work. Change scale 6 (C2C), attitudes about work, includes 3 out of 14 of the items about work on the raw scale (R3). In short, change scales 5 and 6 overlap somewhat with the items in the raw scales attitudes about work (R2). However, while other items are similar to the raw scale items, they emphasize different facets of attitudes about work.

In the domain of items concerning alienation, we find that the original Alienation scale (R5) contributed items to the 3 different change scales, all of which appear to measure and emphasize different facets of alienation. Change scale number 9 (C5A) includes 6 out of 14 of the original raw scales (R5) items. Change scale 10 (C5B) includes 3 out of 8 out of the original raw scale (R5) items. Finally, change scale 11 (C5C) includes 4 out of 17 of the raw scales (R5) items The raw factor scale (R5) suggests a cynical view of the world of, personal efforts, and of others. It suggests that success is more a matter of luck than ability, that it is futile to plan for the future, and that others cannot be trusted. An opportunistic and machavellian view of others is most appropriate. These raw scale items were distributed throughout the three different change scales, with 7 out of the 15 raw scale items being distributed on the three different change scales.

In summary, it can be said that the different items selected on the basis of the factor analysis change scores at the item level did define different scales in a domain of attitudes about work and alienation. While similar, these scales reflect the different facets of the raw scale domains. Change scale C2B, liking work, and company's man, C2C, were similar to the attitudes about work (raw scale R2). Similarly, change scales 9, 10 and 11 (C5A, C5B, and C5C) shared items with the raw scale alienation scale (R5) but in each case defined slightly different facets in comparison to the raw scales (R5A). The I Am Scale, Adults Think I Am, Personal Responsibility, and Group Effectiveness change scales were all essentially the same dimensions as those which were derived by factor analysis from the one time administration and which were used to define the raw scale. The "importance of work" (C2A) change scale was composed of new items not included in the original factor analysis; these scales are thus irrelevant to the question of the extent to which the change scales are similar to or different from the raw scales.

Continuing to address ourselves to the question of the relative differences of change scales and the raw scales, we will now examine the intercorrelation of the different change scales. Presumably, they would be correlated because they reflect different facets about work or alienation. Change scale number 4, (C2A) was correlated .300 with a "like work" scale and was correlated with the "company man's" score with an r = .100. Factor 5 (C2B), "like work" scale, was correlated .640 with a "company man" change scale. These intercorrelations of the scale, with the exception of the .10 correlation, indicated that the change scales did reflect slightly different facets of work and while correlated, were not highly so.

The change scales of alienation (C5A, C5B, and C5C), were intercorrelated and change scale 9 (C5a) was found to correlate .700 with change scale 10 and .860 with change score number 11 (C5). Change scale 10 was found to correlate .550 with change scale number 11 (C5C). Thus the three change scales or different facets of alienation seem more highly intercorrelated with each other than those of the "attitudes about work" change scale scores. These correlations were based on a sample of 947 and are thus highly significant.

An examination of the similarity of the raw scales and the change scales was conducted by correlating between the two. The pre test of the TOS with the Colorado 1967 and the Vermont 1968 camp sessions provide a sample of 42 subjects who were scored on both the raw and the change scales. The change scale "attitudes about work" domain - that is, change scales 4, 5 and 6 (C2A, C2B, C2C) - correlated with the raw work scale (R2) with a correlation coefficient of .472, .732, and .692 respectively. All of these correlations are significant. This finding indicates: 1) that the raw scales were correlated with each of the three different facets of the change scales concerning attitudes about work, and 2) that the correlation to the raw scale work scale was higher than the intercorrelations among the three change scales C2A, C2B, and C2C.

The raw alienation scale (R5) on the pretests for these 42 campers was found to be correlated .854, .729 and .694 with the three different change scale facets of alienation; namely, change scales 9, 10 and 11 or C5A, C5B, C5C. In summary, then the intercorrelation of change scores again appears lower than the separate change scales when correlated to the raw scale. In short, the change scale appears to differentiate facets of attitudes about work and alienation in the change scales which were not as well differentiated in the raw scales.

The correlation between the post-test, that is administration of the TOS at the end of camp, was computed with the change scale and the comparable raw scale. The raw work scale was found to be correlated .575, .675 and .545, with the change work scales; that is, with change scales C2A, C2B, and C2C respectively. The raw post-camp alienation scale (R5) was found to be correlated with change scale scores C5A, C5B, C5C, as follows: .528, .498, and .352 respectively. Summarizing then, the raw scale scores were found to be correlated to a greater degree with the change scale scores than the change scale scores themselves were intercorrelated. This finding indicates that the change scale scores are different from each other but share a common underlying dimension with the raw scales concerning work and alienation.

Other data relevant to the question of whether the change scores differ from the raw scores are found in a comparison of their respective reliabilities. Estimates of the reliability come from two sources: 1) their internal consistency as measured by alpha and 2) their test retest correlation. Theoretically, change scores would be expected to have a lower reliability and to be more sensitive to change. This in fact appears to be the case. While alpha is relevant, more relevant will be the test-retest correlation. The alpha for the raw scales are as follows: Attitudes about work (R2), .771; Personal responsibility (R3), .875; Adults think I am (R1A), .923; Group

Effectiveness (R4), .812; Alienation (R5), .790; and the "I am" scale (R1B), .906. As discussed previously, the self-evaluation and "Adults think I am" scales are in the change scales and differ little from the raw scales. The evaluation right scale (C1A) had an alpha .881 and evaluation left (C1B) had an alpha of .805. The combined scale (C1C) had an alpha equal to .903. The differences are due to slightly different items defining them. Similarly, the change scale "Group effectiveness" (C4) had an alpha equal to .766, similar to that of the raw scale. Change personal responsibility scale (C3) had an alpha equal to .828, again similar to that of the raw scale. Change scale 4 (C2A), the importance of different aspects of work, had an alpha of ,87, but because its items were not used in the raw scale score construction, this scale is not comparable to any raw scale. The only domains in which a comparison of the alphas cn raw and the change scales are possible, are the attitudes about work scale and the alienation scale. The change scale "like work" (factor C2B) had an alpha equal to .741 and the "company man" change scale (C2C) had alpha .721, both of which differed little from the raw scale attitude about work alpha of .771. In the change scales concerning alienation, the alphas are consistently lower; for change alienation scales C5A, C5B, C5C, alphas are .738, .527, .660 respectively. The alpha for the raw alienation scale (R5) equalled .790.

In summary, then, the work scale seemed to differ little from the raw scales in terms of internal consistency or alpha. However, the alienation change scales appear to be consistently lower with regard to internal consistencies than the raw scales. In the case of the change alienation scale, we may conclude that it may have a lower reliability as measured by alpha, i.e. internal consistency, than that of the raw alienation scale.

Since internal consistency is probably a less relevant measure of reliability for the purposes of assessing change than is test retest reliability, we shall examine the test-retest reliability of the change scales in comparison to the raw scales. Data collected from 42 subjects from the 1967 Colorado and the 1968 Vermont campers will again be used to compare the test-retest correlation between the raw scales and the change scales. The raw alientation scale had a precamp-postcamp test correlation r = .809. The post testing occurred five weeks after the beginning of camp. At the end of one year, the test-retest correlation for the raw alienation scale (R5) r = .549. In comparison, the test-retest correlation for the five week camp period for change scale 9 (C5A) was r =.661; factor 10 (C5B) was r = .614, and the pretest-post test correlation for change scale alienation (C5B) was r = .412. At the end of one year, the test-retest correlation for the three change scale factors respectively was r = .557, r = .659 and for change scale C5C, r = .186. In all instances, the raw scale alienation factor (R5) had consistently higher test-retest correlation both at the end of five weeks and at the end of one year, than did the three change scale factors.

Examining now the raw scale work factor (R2) we find that the pre-camp post-camp five weeks test-retest correlation was r = .732, and at the end of one year the test-retest correlation of the raw work scale (R2) was .609. In comparison, the test-retest correlation for change scale scores about work, change scales 5 (C2B) and 6 (C2C), were r = .614 and r = .755 respectively. The precamp-postcamp correlation for change work scale (R4) was .817, but this scale does not have a comparable raw score scale. For the sample of 42 Colorado and Vermont campers, the test-retest correlation at the end of one year for change scales C2A, C2B and C2C was .601, .673, and .543 respectively. The work-relevant change scores, (C2A, C2B, and C2C) are less different from the alienation change scales (C5A, C5B and C5C) scores when compared to the raw scale in term of their test-retest correlations scores (R2 and R5). In summary, then it appears that the lower reliability as measured by test-retest reliability is most pronounced in the change alienation scales, C5A, C5B, C5C, in comparison to the raw scale alienation score R5. The evidence seems to indicate that the alienation change scales, C5A, C5B and C5C, appeared to be consistantly less reliable than the raw scales as measured by alpha and their test-retest correlations. The previous discussion pointed out that in terms of the content of items and the intercorrelation of the Alienation change scales between one another and with the raw scale indicate that they most clearly reflected different facets of alienation. In short, it appears that the change derived alienation scales (C5A, C5B, and C5C) clearly seem to be most different from the raw scales in terms of their content and lower reliability.

While many questions are raised by the violations of the assumption of independence, the factor analysis of the change scales scores and the relatively small sample of change scores, the change appear to form adequate psychometric scales as measured by their internal consistency, alphas, and their test-retest reliability. Mitigating the violation of the assumptions of independence, is the fact that factor analysis was simply used as an item selection procedure and that items were selected for inclusion in the scale on the basis of their individual psychometric characteristics such as item to scale score correlations.

In summary, it appears, most clearly in the case of the change alienation scale, (less so with the change work scales and not at all with the remaining change scales) that scales were constructed which measure different facets of a common domains of the raw scales; namely, work and alienation. In the case of the alienation change scales they most clearly appear to reflect different facets of alienation and prove to have lower reliabilities which is what is important in the rationale for developing change scales. The next question to be examined is the extent to which the scales derived from the factor analysis of change scores at the item level are more sensitive to change and thus may be more suited to assessing change for purposes of program evaluation.

THE UTILIZATION OF CHANGE SCALES IN ASSESSING CAMP INDUCED CHANGES

In the following section, the 11 change scales and 6 raw scales will be used to assess change resulting from the camp experience. This camp experience was evaluated on 5 different occasions, twice in Colorado, 1967 and '68, and three times in Vermont, 1968, 1969 and 1970.

In the instance of the Colorado '67 and Vermont '68 camp sessions, a matched T test design was used. In this design, subjects randomly assigned to the control group, which was waiting **during the month of July to come to camp**, were compared to subjects randomly assigned to camp in July. This is a tighter experimental design, with random assignment of campers to experimental and control groups, than the following design, where each subject acted as his own control. In the second set of analysis of variance, a trend or repeated measure design is used. In this design, each subject acted as his own control in the waiting periord prior to coming to camp. It should be noted that except for the Colorado '67 and Vermont '68 August session, the control period occurs within a relatively structured school year in the trend analysis. In the matched T test, the control period occurred during the month of July when boys were out of school and possibly at loose ends on the streets for the summer. The different effects of this will be discussed.

In summary, both the change scales and the raw scales will be used to assess the impact of five different camp sessions. This comparison of raw and change scales will be used both to: 1) test the change scales' sensitivity to change and 2) test the hypothesis, that the camp experience will result in a lowering of alienation, in the subsequent replications of the summer camp; namely 1968 in Colorado and 1969 and '70 in Vermont.

The following are the experimental paradigms for the five summer camp periods to be tested. The notational system of Campbell, and Stanley (1963) are used to describe these five designs.

Matched T-Test Design

Colorado 1967

	June	July	
R	O_1	X_1 (Camp)	O_2
R	O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2

Vermont 1968

	June	July	
R	O_1	X_1 (Camp)	O_2
R	O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2

TREND ANALYSIS

August Campers Colorado 1967

June		July		August
O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2	X_1 (Camp)	O_3

August Campers Vermont 1968

June		July		August
O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2	X_1 (Camp)	O_3

Colorado 1968

May		July		August
O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2	X_1 (Camp)	O_3

Vermont 1969

May		June		July
O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2	X_1 (Camp)	O_3

Vermont 1970

June		July		August
O_1	C_1 (Control)	O_2	X_1 (Camp)	O_3

R= **Randomization**

O= Observation

X= Experimental Condition

C= Control Condition

EFFECT OF CAMP EXPERIENCE AS EVALUATED BY TEENAGERS OPINION SURVEY

Experimental Camps

In Colorado 1967 and Vermont 1968 an experimental design was adopted to evaluate attitude changes that could be attributed to the camp experience. In June, all of those who had been accepted for camp were given the Teenagers Opinion Survey (TOS) and were then told whether they would attend the first camp session in July or the second camp session that would start in August. Assignment to one or the other session was determined on a strictly random basis. The July campers started camp shortly thereafter, and the TOS was administered a second time at the end of this session; i.e., the end of July. The July campers constitute the experimental group, with pre- and post-measures of their attitudes, obtained before and at the end of camp. Those who were assigned to the August camp sessions constitute the control group for this evaluation, since they remained in the city (whether Denver or New York) for the duration of the July camp. Their second TOS was administered at the very beginning of their August camp (i.e. within a week of the second TOS for the July campers). A few in the control group who did not appear for the August session when the time came, were sought out in the city and answered the questionnaire again. Attitude changes among the control group during the period of their August camp session will be discussed later; in what follows we are concerned only with their TOS changes during their July waiting period. Colorado 1967 and Vermont 1968 camps therefore, furnish an experiment with replication, using a before-after design and random assignment of subjects to control and experimental groups.

In Colorado 1967, there were 13 boys in the July camp group and 12 in the control; in Vermont 1968 there were 12 and 11 respectively. Not included here are a few additional boys who eluded the second TOS administration or whose questionnaires were unusable. On particular scales the 'n' may be slightly lower because for some reason (e.g. incomplete questionnaire or page skipped) the protocol could not be scored on all of the scales. The two experiments, Colorado '67 and its replication Vermont '68, were analyzed separately and also combined. For each of the six Raw Score Scales and the eleven Change Scales, mean scores were compared using the matched t-test for analyzing changes between pre- and post-test for one group, and the t-test for independent groups where the two conditions were being compared. One of the scales (Change 4, C 2 A) was derived from items added to the questionnaire in 1968 and therefore not applicable to Colorado 1967. The results are presented with the 17 scales grouped into the five attitudinal domains, since the scales within each domain often have a number of questionnaire items in common.

As a working hypothesis for the evaluation, it was predicted that the camp group would show attitude change in a positive direction in each of the attitudinal domains: higher evaluation of self, better attitudes toward work and its rewarding aspects, greater belief in what a group can accomplish, and in personal responsibility, less alienation, etc. The prediction was that the camp group would show more positive change than the control group during this period.

A second hypothesis concerns the rationale for developing the set of Change Scales. It may be recalled that these were constructed from a factor analysis of changes from one TOS administration to the next, in a person's responses at the item level. The expectation here was that the Change Scales would be more sensitive to attitude change and therefore provide better evaluative measures than the original six Raw Scales. It should perhaps be mentioned that there is nothing circular in this hypothesis: the method for constructing the Change Scales only requires that items tend to change together, but it in no way specifies that particular groups will change in a certain direction during a particular time period.

Before testing these hypotheses, two substantive and methodological points should be made. First, we compared the pre-test scores of the two groups in each year and on each scale. In fact, on none of the 33 comparisons does the mean difference between control and experimental pre-test scores have a probability of less than .05, although on Change 11 C 5 C, the control group has a rather lower score in both Colorado and Vermont so that when the two are combined, the difference acquires statistical significance ($p<.05$). This kind of problem illustrates one of the several reasons for relying on change scores over time, and on differences between conditions in their change scores, rather than comparing only the post-test scores of the two groups.

A second point of interest is that the New Yorkers who went to the Vermont camp clearly scored higher than the Denver boys in alienation and in their evaluations of themselves. In the areas of work, effective social action and personal responsibility, the two regions did not differ markedly. (By implication, combining the two experiments, with their divergent group means on some scales, tends to increase rather than diminish the variance of the pooled group.)

The findings are presented in summary form in Appendix D, with the mean before and after scores, the change scores, and the T values, on only the alienation scales (R5, C5A, C5B and C5C). The data on the other scales are available upon request from the author. In brief, there is nothing to suggest that the attitudes of the campers changed or that they changed differently from those of the control group in four out of the five attitudinal domains -- work, evaluation of self, effective social action or personal responsibility. The few minor exceptions in the work area can be noted but in view of the large number of comparisons they should probably be viewed as chance differences.

On Change 5 (C2B), a scale that bears on enjoyable aspects of work, the Vermont '68 control group went up slightly in its ratings, and the camp group (which had just spent a month clearing land and digging out a foundation for a large cabin) went down marginally; so there was some difference between their change scores ($p<.05$). This finding may reflect a kind of regression toward the mean, since by chance their pre-test scores were slightly apart and then converged over the following month. There is no parallel difference in Colorado; on the contrary, the change tend in the opposite direction. On another work scale there was possibly some change on Change 6 (C 2 C) where a high score implies a conforming optimistic view of work and life, which was dubbed 'the company man' outlook. Here the Colorado campers showed a decline ($p<.05$), but not the Vermont campers. Raw 1 Scale (R2) is a similar scale with much item overlap; in this instance the Vermont campers decline somewhat ($p<.07$). However, on neither version of this scale is there a significant decline for all campers combined, nor a significant difference between campers and control. If these slight trends merit interpretation at all, they perhaps indicate that after the novel experience of a month's hard construction work, campers were a little more realistic about work and work relationships.

It is in the domain of alienation alone that scales show substantial and reliable changes that can be attributed to the camp -- or more exactly, to differences between going to camp and staying on the streets. The findings are presented in graphs later and the relevant statistics in Appendix D. The effect is clearest in the original scale form, Raw 5 (R5). For both camps combined, those who went to camp declined significantly (p .05) in alienation; those who stayed on the streets increased in alienation (p .05); the difference between the changes is marked and meaningful (p .002). The effect can be seen independently in each of the two years, though more strongly in Colorado 1967 than Vermont 1968.

Three Change Scales deal very much with the same dimension, Nos. 9, 10 and 11, (C5A, C5B, and C5C), with each emphasizing a slightly different facet. Change 10 (C5B) we will pass; this is a short scale whose focus is not clear, and in these two years everyone tends to increase slightly on whatever it is that is measured. On Change Scales 9 (C5A) and 11 (C5C), as with Raw 5 (R5), there is a clear difference in the change scores of campers and control groups, especially when the two years are combined ($p<.05$ on Change 9 C5A and $p<,01$ on Change 11 C5C). Taking the two years separately, the difference between changes is significant, or very nearly, on three out of the four tests.

There is, however, an interesting difference between Vermont and Colorado on these two scales, which does not hold for Raw 5 (R5). In Colorado, it is not that the campers decline in alienation during the camp (as they do on the Raw 5 (R5) version); if anything, they show a slight increase. However, those who spent July on the streets of Denver scored substantially higher on alienation at the end of the month (p .01 on both scales, p .06 on Raw 5, R5). In the Vermont groups there is a decline in scores among the campers ($p<.05$ on Change 9), and a similar, though not significant, rise among the control group still in Harlem.

These findings are a reminder that any so-called 'control group' is not frozen in time and experience, they, too, may be exposed to important influences, even if not the planned intervention of the social experimenter. In this case, we can postulate that in the month of July a main structural prop in their daily lives was taken away -- namely, school routine -- which left them increasingly anomic. Ràther than speculate why this should be much more pronounced in Colorado than New York, we should again mention a feature of the pre-test scores. In Vermont '68 the camp group, in spite of random assignment, scored higher on the pre-test than the control on all four scales relating to alienation, with a difference significant at the .10 level on Change 10 (C5B) and 11 (C5C). What happened on three of the four (all but Change 10 (C5B), is that during July their scores converged, with the campers declining and the control group increasing. Should we regard these changes and the difference between them as statistical artifact, a regression toward - the mean effect, following purely chance differences at the outset? In view of the pronounced alienation effects in Colorado 67 and some evidence in this domain from subsequent camps (to be presented below), it is reasonable to attribute the Vermont '68 alienation score changes to reliable changes in their outlooks rather than to measurement error; however, it would be straining the evidence to attribute the apparent differences between Vermont and Colorado campers to differences between the two populations.

To conclude in terms of the two hypotheses stated above:

1. Only in the area of alienation did the camps have a measurable effect on attitudes tapped by the TOS. In part, the campers showed

slightly less alienation in one form or another at the end of camp particularly in Vermont '68, than they had in the beginning.
In part, the control group showed greater alienation in the waiting period, dramatically so in Colorado '67. We may fairly infer that the camp had positive effects in this area, not so much by bringing about great changes in the campers, but by taking them off the city streets in the first month of the summer vacation when their peers were becoming more suspicious, hostile and alienated.

2. On the methodological issue of whether the Change Scales pick up more change than the Raw Scales, there is effectively no confirmation. On the Change Scales, 4 out of 42 change scores (each year, condition and scale) were different from zero at the .05 level; for the Raw Scales, none out of 24. This is hardly evidence of greater sensitivity among the Change Scales. Nor do the Change Scales differentiate the control groups from the campers in the predicted direction, since in both cases it is only in the alienation domain that differences emerged. Here, the three Change versions merely confirmed what the Raw Scale 5 showed, with slight differences of emphasis that can be noted. For Colorado '67, the Change Scales 9, C5A, 10 C5B, and 11 C5C all show a general trend to higher post-test scores for all, with a pronounced increase for the control group on 9 C5A and 11 C5C (more than on Raw 5, R5). For Vermont '68, Change 9 C5A, and 11 C5C show the same trends as Raw 5, R 5 but rather more clearly in Change 9 C5A, in terms of mean difference between the conditions and its significance. The discussion of these different versions of the alienation area will be resumed after discussion of the later camps. In this discussion graphs of the changes in the raw and change alienation scales for camp and control periods for all camps is presented.

Evaluation of Camp by the TOS Time Series Design

In Colorado '67 and Vermont '68, the boys who came to the second camp session in August were administered the TOS for a third time at the end of camp. Thus, any changes in TOS scores over the camp period could be compared to changes during the preceding control period, with each boy acting as his own control. In addition, yet a fourth TOS administration took place the following spring about 10 months after the end of camp, when the boys were back in the city and (in most cases) back in school. These four measures and their intervening change scores provide a time series, which, while not a tight experimental design gives some indication of the impact of the camp on attitudes tapped by the TOS. The three periods are referred to as 'control,' 'camp' and 'after-control.'

In subsequent years, there were three more camps: Colorado '68, Vermont '69 and Vermont '70, and for each of these, also, there were four TOS measures: pre-control pre-camp (also post-control), post-camp (also pre-after-control) and follow-up. These three camps began in July, so that the control perid was shorter than for Colorado '67 and Vermont '68.

In analyzing the time-series data, campers who were returning to camp for a second or even third summer were separated from those coming for the first time, on the assumption that the camp might affect these two sub-groups differently. This splitting of the campers, combined with attrition in the sample, because a few of the campers missed one of the four TOS measures, resulted in camp sample sizes that were often too small for use. In particular, the fourth (follow-up) session was often lost. There were other problems, too, about using the follow-up -- its timing varied from one year to another, and in any case there were no clear expectations about what direction of change to predict during the after-control period; it is, therefore, dropped for most of the following discussion. Data are presented on the first three TOS administrations, and the fourth is brought in only where there are special points of interest.

Separating new and returning campers meant dropping Vermont '70 from the analysis of first-timers, since almost no new boys were recruited for the last camp session. This analysis, therefore, includes Colorado '67 (August campers) Colorado '68, Vermont '68 (August campers) and Vermont '69. The sample sizes for just the first three administrations were 7, 5, 8 and 9 respectively, but are sometimes further reduced on particular scales because part of one of the questionnaires was skipped and unscorable on one or more scales. The four camp sessions are presented separately, grouped by state, and all four combined (N=29). The returning campers were too few to examine this group separately in each session and consequently are grouped by state and then all together. Colorado 2nd-timers (N=7) covers August 1967, and 1968; Vermont 2nd-timers (N=15) covers 1968, 69 and 70. The combined group (N=22) includes a few boys twice; e.g. Colorado boys who came to a third camp in Vermont. In view of the small 'n' and the difference characteristics of Vermont and Colorado camps, it seemed acceptable to violate the statistical requirement that each subject be included only once.

The working hypothesis to be examined was that campers would show an 'improvement' on the various scales during the camp session compared with any changes they showed during the preceding control period. No hypothesis was formulated about change during the after-control period. Secondly, we are again interested in seeing if the Change Scales are more sensitive to change than the Raw Scales.

To test the evaluation hypothesis, each subject's change scores during the control period and the camp period were calculated, and the difference between the two mean change scores was tested by a matched T-test. All change scores were also tested for any difference from zero by T-test. The three TOS measures themselves were also compared by analysis of variance with repeated measures of the same subject, and similar analyses of variance were performed to compare the four TOS administrations and the three sets of change scores computed from them when the follow-up administration was included. The results are presented with grouping of the 6 Raw Scales and the 11 Change Scales into five attitudinal domains, for easier comparison of the various scales related to the same area.

Findings: New Campers

I) Alienation

In the experimental analysis, it was shown that the control group clearly increased in alienation while waiting for camp, though this was more pronounced in Colorado '67 than Vermont '68, especially on Change 9 (C5A) and Change 11 (C5C). The experimental group, the July campers, either decreased on the alienation scales or increased as well - but to a lesser extent than the control group. Consequently, the difference between the mean change scores of the two conditions were significant, on Raw 5, R5, Change 9, C5A, and Change 11, C511. Here we follow up the two control groups, to see what happened to their alienation scores during camp, and at the same time consider two additional sessions with first-timers, Colorado '68 and Vermont '69.

The two control groups are here much reduced in size, because the returning campers have been taken out, and because one or two campers did not take the end-of-camp TOS. We still find the same increase in alienation during the control period, though the means and their significance varies from the earlier data because of the reduced numbers.

Again, the increase is rather greater in Colorado '67 than Vermont '68. Of the two additional camp groups, Colorado '68 shows the same kind of striking and significant increase during the control period on each of the four scales. Vermont '69 shows different trends on different scales, and none different from zero. On each of the four scales, the mean increase is significant for the two Colorado groups combined and for all four groups combined.

The next issue is whether alienation declined during camp. The Colorado '67 group, coming to camp in August, shows a decline on Change 9 C5A and Change 11 C5C ($p<.05$ on the latter); the Vermont '68 August campers show no change either way. Of the two additional camps, Colorado '68 shows a sizeable mean decline on all four scales, though with only five subjects in the analysis, these are not statistically significant. Vermont '69 again shows no consistent changes. When the camps are combined, Colorado '67+'68 shows decline in alienation on Change 11 C5C ($p<.01$) and somewhat on Change 9 C5A ($p<.10$). Vermont shows no such drop, and in fact, a slight increase on Change 11 C5C ($p<.10$).

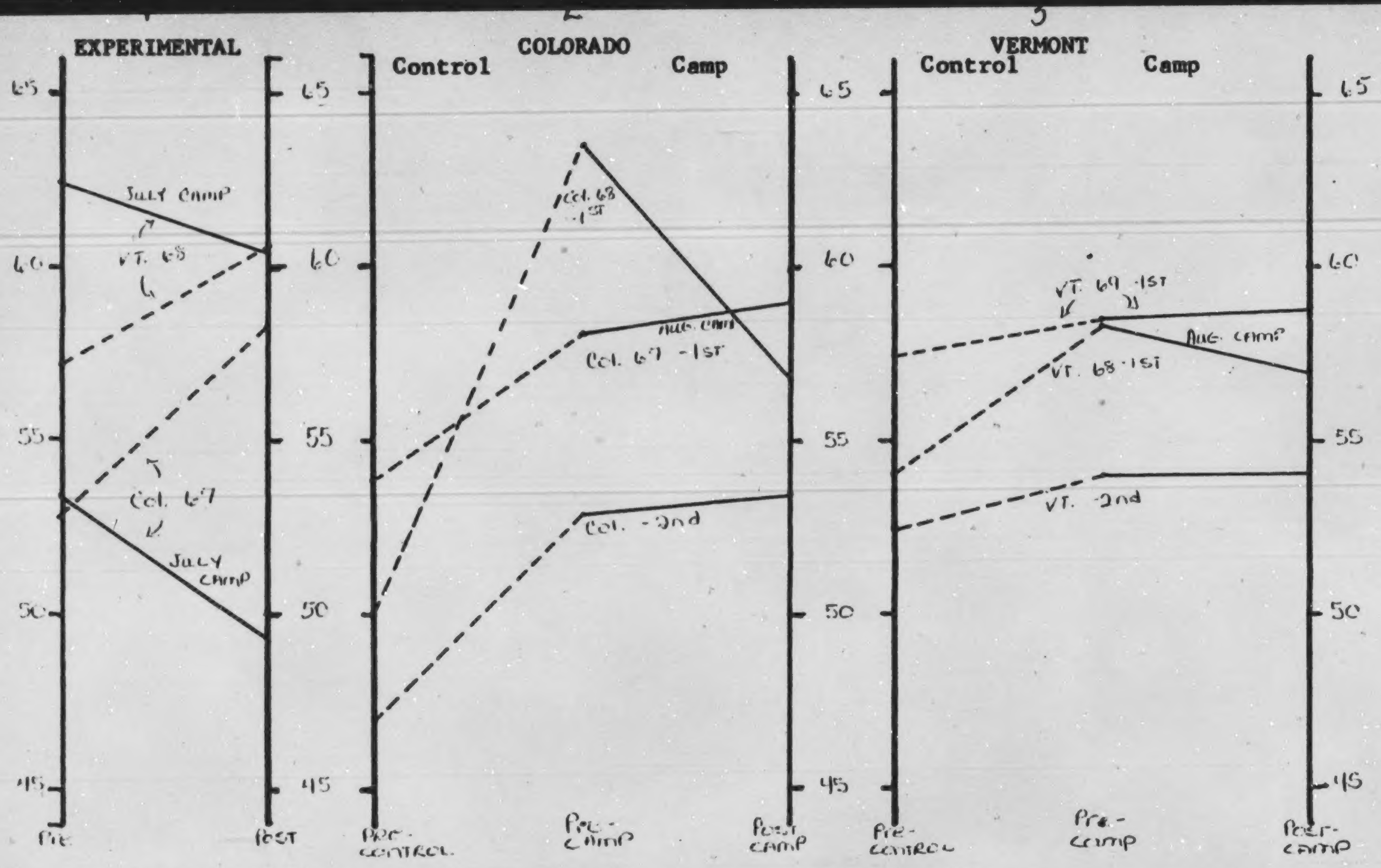
If the two successive change scores are then compared, the signed difference between them generally sustains the hypothesis that the camps stops and partially reverses the trend to increasing alieantion in the pre-camp period. For the combined Colorado camps, the two mean change scores are significantly different from each other at $p<.06$ or better on each of the four scales. The effects are clearest in Colorado '68, but the trends are clearly present in the August '67 campers ($p<.10$ on Change 9 C5A and Change 11 C5C. Of great interest are these findings:

1) That in Colorado '67 the time series analysis of one group of boys corresponds with what was found in the experimental comparison.

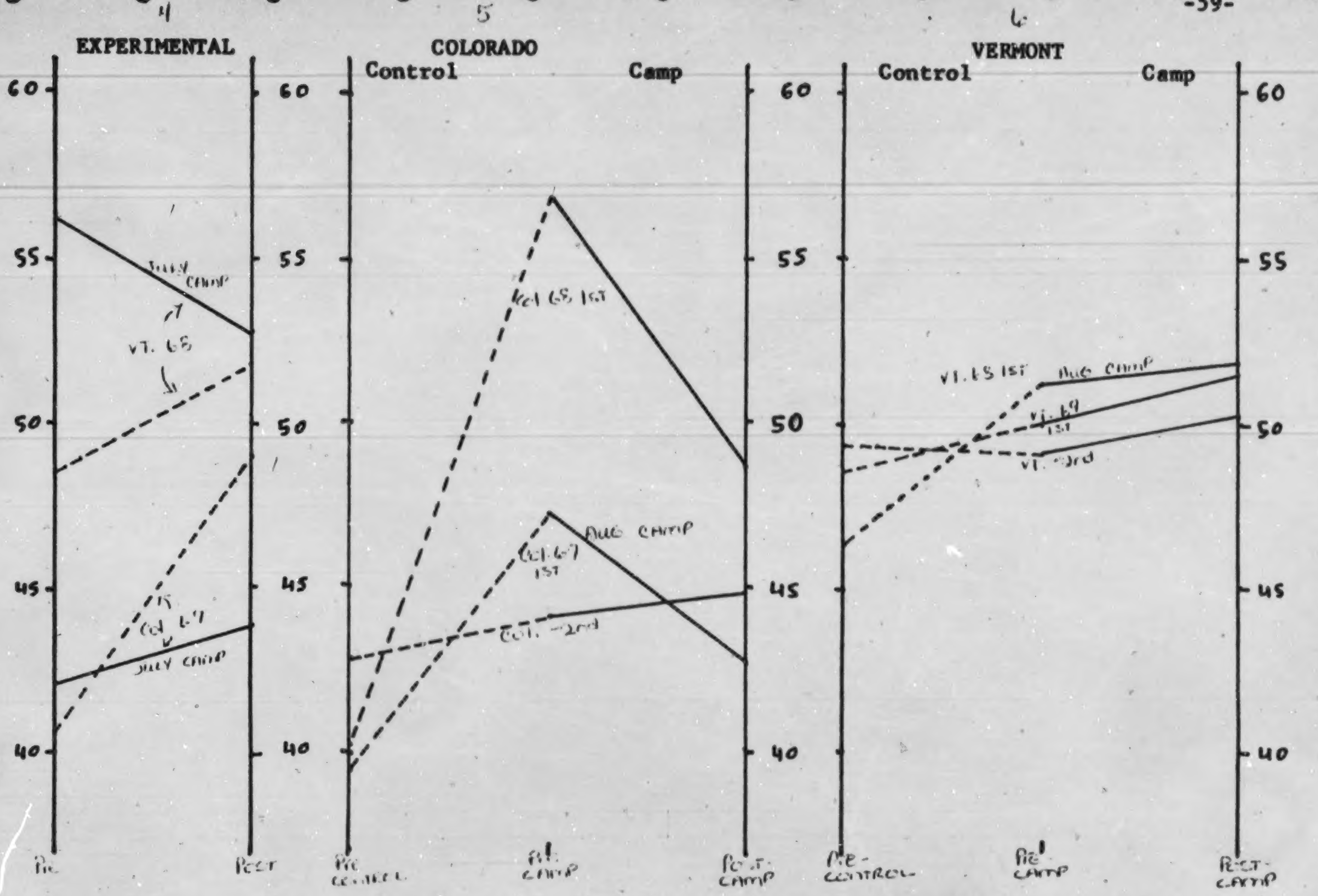
2) That it is a 'replication' camp, Colorado '68, that demonstrates the effect most clearly. For Vermont camps combined, the trend is scarcely to be found, except on Change 10 C5B ($p<.10$), while the Vermont (August) '68 group by itself shows this tendency on a different scale -- Raw 5, R5.

With all four groups combined (N=29), there is significant increase in alienation at $p<.05$ on all four scales during the control period; a slight but non-significant decrease during camp; and a reliable difference between the successive change scores, significant at $p<.05$ on all but Change 11 (C5C).

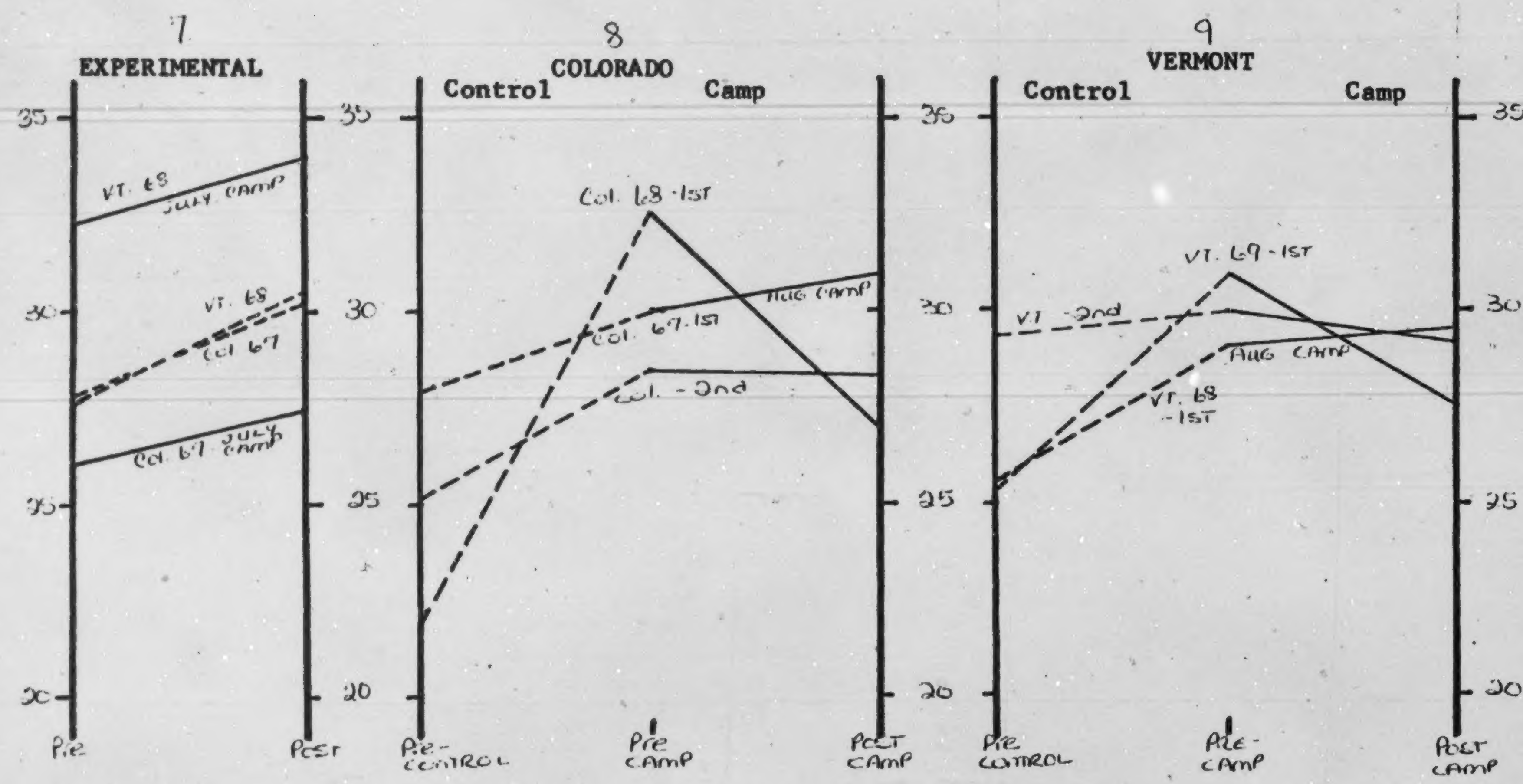
The following Graphs show the changes in alienation on raw and change scales for all camp and control sessions.



GRAPHS OF EXPERIMENTAL (1), COLORADO (2), AND VERMONT (3) CAMPS SHOWING CHANGES DURING CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL PERIODS ON ALIENATION SCALE R-5.

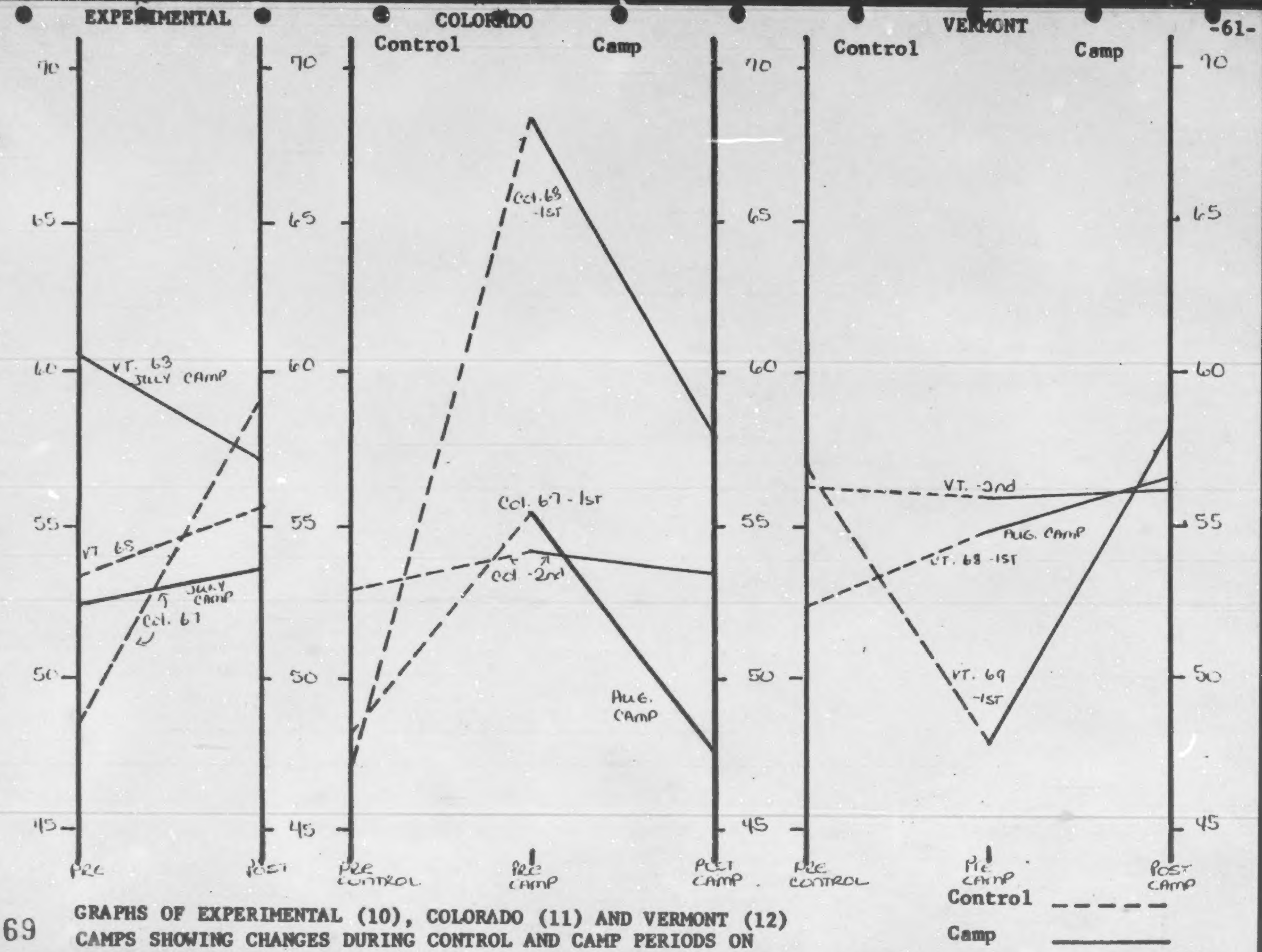


GRAPHS OF EXPERIMENTAL (4), COLORADO (5), AND VERMONT (6) CAMPS SHOWING CHANGES DURING CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL PERIODS ON ALIENATION SCALE C-5-A.



GRAPHS OF EXPERIMENTAL (7), COLORADO (8) AND VERMONT (9) CAMPS SHOWING CHANGES DURING CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL PERIODS ON ALIENATION SCALE C-5-B.

Control - - - - -
Camp ———



69

GRAPHS OF EXPERIMENTAL (10), COLORADO (11) AND VERMONT (12) CAMPS SHOWING CHANGES DURING CONTROL AND CAMP PERIODS ON ALIENATION SCALE C-5-C

70

II) Evaluative

The Colorado groups' self-evaluations went down during the control period and went back up during camp. This trend is evident on all versions of this dimension, except perhaps Change Scale 2 (C1B) and it is clearest on Raw 6 (C1B) and Change 3 (C1C). In spite of so few subjects, the trend is clear in both Colorado '67 and Colorado '68, but only on Raw 6, (R1B) with both groups combined, does the difference between the two change periods reach statistical significance ($p<.02$). (In Colorado '67, the total July session control group of twelve boys used in the experimental comparison showed no decline in any of these scales during the control period; this is because second-timers, as discussed below, were changing in the opposite direction.)

Vermont campers show no such trends on these scales. Indeed, what minimal changes can be observed go in the opposite direction -- a rise in evaluation of self during the control period and a decline during camp. Due mainly to the rise during the control period, the difference between the changes is significant at the .10 level for the combined Vermont camp sessions on Change 1 (C1A).

III) Work

There are no findings of note here apart from two substantial but isolated changes. On Change 5, (C2B) the Colorado '68 score declined significantly during the control period; and on Raw 1 (R2) the Vermont '69 score declined during camp. Insofar as the time-series findings here and the results of the experimental analysis presented earlier show no pattern, isolated changes of this kind are unlikely to be meaningful. On one point, however, there is some consistency. It was noted earlier that on Raw 1 (R2) the Vermont '68 July campers dropped in score during the camp period; in this instance, it is Vermont '69 campers. Consequentl there may have been something about the work in Vermont which, from the perspective of New York teenagers, affected their responses on this scale. When these two camps and the Vermont '68 August session are combined, the camp decline in positive attitudes about work is significant, and accounts for a significant difference (p .05) between control and camp changes.

IV) Personal Responsibility

No changes on either Raw 2 R3, or Change 8, C3.

V) Effective Group Action

No changes on either Raw 4, R4, or Change 7, C4.

VI) Follow-up Scores

It is important to know whether the attitude changes that took place in camp, or differences in camp attitude changes when compared with trends in the preceding period, are reversed when the campers go back to the city. To follow-up on such changes, the TOS was administered a fourth time about nine months after camp was over. A number of campers were not reached, so that the number who completed all four questionnaires is in some cases too small for useful analysis; e.g., three first-time campers in Colorado 1968. Briefly presented here are the findings on the change scores during this after-camp period for those who provided all four sets of responses. For all four camp sessions combined, the maximum 'n' was 24 (reduced slightly on some scales if a camper did not answer all questions), 10 in Colorado and 14 in Vermont.

On the alienation scales and on the evaluative scales, there were no significant changes during this period for any of the camp sessions separately or combined; nor were there any slight trends common to the different scales within each domain. On the work scales, there was a tendency to less favorable attitudes toward work over this period among the Colorado 1967 group and the Vermont '69 group ($p<.05$) on Change 6 (C2C); for all four groups combined, the drop was significant at $p.<05$ on Change 5 (C2B). On the personal responsibility scales, there was a slight decline in each of the four groups and, on both versions of the scale, in beliefs about what the individual was personally responsible for. With the four groups combined, the decline was small but reliable on the Raw Scale version ($p<.10$) and more so on the Change Scale ($p<.05$). Since by chance alone one would expect some changes that reached statistical levels of significance, it is not clear that any meaning should be attached to these findings. In view of the changes in alienation during or before camp, it is of some relevance that no systematic changes in this area were detected in the following school year.

Findings: Returning Campers

Changes in the TOS scores of boys returning to camp for a second summer -- 7 in Colorado in either 1967 or '68 and 15 in Vermont 1968, '69 or '70 -- were analysed separately for changes during the camp session, as compared to any changes during the pre-camp control period. Overall, changes during either period were minimal, both in Colorado and Vermont sessions and out of nearly 50 comparisons of changes during the two periods, there was only one of statistical significance.

On the alienation group of scales, the Colorado returning campers showed some increase in alienation during the control period on Raw 5 (R5) ($p<.05$) and Change 10 (C5B) ($p<.10$), but no significant changes during camp. The Vermont group showed no changes in either period. Only on Change 10 (C5B), with Vermont and Colorado groups combined, does a slight increase during the control period differ significantly ($p<.05$) from a slight decrease during camp. In the evaluative domain, the Colorado campers showed slightly more positive ratings of themselves over the control period (significant at the .10 level on Change 1 C1A, and at .05 level on Change 3 C1C the .05 level on Raw 6 (R1B) and ($p<.10$) on Change 1, (C1A), but there was no change during camp and no difference between the two periods. The Vermont changes were slight and insignificant. On the three other attitudinal areas there were no changes of note, e.g., no evidence of less favorable views of work during camp on Raw 1, as found among first-timers.

Comparison of group trends and/or mean changes among first-timers and second-timers is limited because the latter were combined from two camp which may have shown opposite trends among the first timers and, in the case of Vermont, included a third camp session in 1970 which had no new campers. However, two general points can be made:

1) Mean changes in the second-timer groups were even less pronounced than among first-timers. This finding is not simply because the camp had less impact for them, since it also holds for the control period. For example, Colorado second-timers showed a mean increase on some of the alienation scales during the month or so preceding the camp, but the mean change was less than half that found among new campers. It could be due in part to a response set that developed from filling out the questionnaire for the fifth or sixth time, even when spread over a year or more; there may also have been a self-selection factor related to the kind of person who enrolled again.

2) What little mean change there was tended to be in the same direction as for first-time campers and it would be surprising were it otherwise, since all were exposed to the same kinds of influence - during camp at least. However, there are few scales where this trend can be tested, since it requires that new campers in two camps show mean change in the same direction, and that the mean change for them and for the second-timers be large enough to be noticeable. The common direction is clear enough on the alienation scales in Colorado -- the increase during the control period. In Vermont, there was a slight trend, common to first- and second-timers, for evaluation of self to improve during the control period and/or decline during camp; the difference between the two changes is significant on Change 1 (C1C), $(p<.05)$ for both groups combined, but for neither group alone. In Colorado, however, the first-timers and returning campers changed in opposite directions on these scales: the first-timers had shown some enhanced self-evaluation during camp, relative to change during the control period, while the second-timers showed relative change somewhat in the oppostie direction.

Conclusion and Summary

The primary questions addressed were whether campers' attitudes, as measured by the Teenage Opinion Survey, were influenced by their experiences in camp in a direction consistent with the aims of the camp program. Attitudes were measured at the beginning and end of camp, and any changes were compared with changes during a control period when boys were in the city. In two camp sessions - Colorado July, 1967 and Vermont July, 1968 - control measures were provided by a different group of boys, randomly assigned, who were given the before- and after-administrations of the TOS at the same time as the campers. In four camp sessions (Colorado, August '67; Colorado, '68; Vermont, August '68; Vermont '69) new campers provided their own control measures, with changes in TOS during the 5-8 weeks immediately prior to the camp, and (for most) during the nine months following camp. Scores for boys returning to camp for a second time were analyzed separately from scores for new campers for this purpose. Small numbers required the combination of two sessions in Colorado (67 and 68) and three sessions in Vermont (68, 69 and also 70); the nine-month follow-up control was not used.

The detailed analysis above has been generous in looking for significant and meaningful trends and changes and given the large number of comparisons examined, has tended to Type I errors of finding differences where probably none exist. In summarizing the findings and sifting out what is meaningful, we may take as a rule of thumb that differences should reach conventional significant levels (.05) in at least two camp sessions and on at least two scales in attitudinal domains comprising a cluster of scales. There are in fact no camp changes that meet this criterion. However, to look purely at changes during camp would be to ignore the controls entirely. If camp and controls are compared, there is one area, alienation, where differences are substantial and reliable, across camps and across different aspects of this attitudinal domain.

There is a rise in alienation during the pre-camp control period on all four scales in the cluster among the Colorado August '67 and Colorado '68 new campers and among all the Colorado returning campers. It is also found in Vermont '68 new campers, but not on all scales among Vermont '69 new campers nor among Vermont returning campers; it is clearest in Colorado '68 ($p < .05$ on all four scales) and in the July Control group for the Colorado '67 July camp ($p < .05$ on two, $p < .10$ on a third) -- a control group made up largely of August '67 first-time campers. There is generally a decline in alienation scores during camp in Colorado August '67, Colorado '68 and Vermont July '68 ($p<.05$) on at least one scale for each). The difference between increasing alienation in the control period (or control group) and any decline during camp is significant at the .05 level on at least two of the five scales in two cases: Colorado July '67 control vs. camp group, and Colorado '68 first-time campers. In three other cases as well, there is clear evidence of this difference (at .05 level on one scale or .10 on two): Colorado August '67 first-timers, Vermont July '68 (controls vs. campers), and all second-timers combined. For first-time campers in Vermont in August '68 and in '69, the trend is there on at least some scales but is not significant even with both groups combined.

It can be concluded that the camps did in general affect attitudes related to alienation, more by halting the alienation that developed or would develop during the summer in the city than by decreasing it during camp. The fact that this is found among Colorado returning campers dispels the possibility that it can be due in any way to some artifact of taking the TOS for the first and second time. The difference is clearest in the two years of Colorado, where the increase during the control period is most pronounced -- among first- and second-time campers, in 1967 and 1968. Follow-up measures among first-time campers over four different years, combined show no consistent or significant trends in attitude change over the subsequent nine months.

On the scales for evaluation of self, there is some evidence of changes among first-time campers in Colorado, August 67 and in 68; mainly, lower self-evaluation during the control period and higher during camp. On the Raw 6 (R1B)"Adults Think I am..," the improvement was significant for each camp separately and the contrast with the control period for both combined. However, returning campers at the same camps were showing trends in the opposite direction. In Vermont, if all first- and returnin campers are combined, higher self-evaluation during the control period and a decline during camp are different ($p < .05$) on Change I; C1A. The latter finding is, of course, contrary to the aims and hopes of camp and, since th trend is limited and opposite to that among Colorado first-timers, this appears to be a case where no conclusion can be drawn. On none of the other three dimensions did any pattern of change emerge that was clear enough to be reliable.

A secondary issue concerns the development of scales based on individual Change Scores. The use of these scales is worthwhile, because it provides additional reliable scales that are variations on the original raw scales in the same attitudinal domains. They help distinguish reliable differences on the raw scales from fortuitous ones. Thus, in the area of alienation, the differences between control and camp, found on Raw 5 (R5) for a number of sessions, can be accepted with greater confidence when they are also found on three other scales C5A, C5B, and C5C, tapping the same general area of beliefs but composed of rather different sets of items. Moreover, the common pattern on Raw 5 (R1) of increasing alienation during the control period/group and a leveling off or a decline during camp, can be extended to other camps with the Change Scale findings. In Colorado, August '67 (new campers), the trend is scarcely apparent on Raw 5, R1 but it is pronounced on Change 9 C5A and Change 11 C5C. In Vermont '69 (new campers) there is no evidence of this trend at all on Raw 5, (R1), but it emerges on Change 10 (C5B). However, on Change 11 (C5C) there is a reversal -- the only case -- where alienation declined during the control period and rose during camp; this suggests that the absence of change on Raw 5 (R1, conceals two opposing trends, and that for this group the Vermont '69 grou it is important to separate out the different facets of alienation.

The change scales were developed not merely to increase the total number of scales for analysis but, on the assumption that because they were derived from change scores, they would be more sensitive to change in the groups under analysis. Out of all the mean change scores analysed in these groups (including combined camps), 7% on the Raw Scales and 8% on the Changes Scales were different from zero at the .05 level; of all comparisons of mean change between camp and control group period, 5% on the Raw and 11% on the Change were different from each other at the .05 level. By these criteria, there is only a slight basis for finding that the Change Scales are more sensitive to change or that much was gained by deriving them from a factor analysis of individual change scores.

The problem of developing measures with an intermediate range of reliabilities, specifically test-retest reliabilities, remains. Logically at least, it is important for evaluative studies that outcome measures be selected for which there is a chance of the program affecting these measures in a meaningful way. Clearly, it is illogical to select outcome measures that change in either an ephemeral and capricious way or ones that are unlikely to change under any circumstances. Therefore, the development of relevant outcome measures with the possibility of change remains an important issue. In the study described above the results are less than encouraging, and it would be difficult to conclude that the factor analysis of change scores did yield different scales and that these scales were more sensitive to change.

The strongest case for the creation of different scales that were more sensitive to change is provided by the three facets of the alienation scale C5A, C5B and C5C. While there was an overlap of items with the raw scale R5, different items were selected on the basis of factor analysis to define the different alienation scales. All of these scales share a common theme with the raw scale, but emphasized different facets of the dimension; in addition the same dimensions were defined by different items. On the base of content, then, one can conclude that similar but different scales were constructed. The alphas or internal consistencies were lower than those of the raw scale and similarly the test-retest correlation was found to be lower than that of the raw scale. Thus, one can conclude that these scales were different and that they had a lower reliability. The fact that the change alienation scales tended to intercorrelate with one another to a lesser degree than to the raw scale indicates again that they represent different facets in the domain measured by the raw scale. The strongest argument for this can be made in the case of the alienation scale that the change scales were different and that they were of a lower reliability and possibly more sensitive to change.

Given the importance of developing change-sensitive scales, it would be worthwhile to conduct a study similar to the one here, but with the explicit purpose of conducting a factor analysis of change scores at the item level. Unlike the above study, such a study would clearly demand that the assumption for independence of observations be met. In other words, all observations should be independent and sufficiently large sampl sizes used. The fact that these assumptions were violated may have obscured the findings relevant to developing change-oriented scales.

Beyond these problems, the above study was limited in that it used paper and pencil tests with disadvantaged youngsters whose reading and test taking skills undoubtedly contributed large amounts of error variance. These limitations precluded the use of the more sophisticated techniques for avoiding response sets; e.g., randomizing all items irrespective of their formats throughout the questionnaire. In summary, it is recommended that a study be undertaken for the explicit purpose of studying change scores at the item level and constructing changeable scales without the limitations described above.

Another set of limations in the above studies concerns whether these scale construction procedures for the change oriented scale were in fact effective. One of the tests of the success of building change-oriented scales was their utilization in analysis of variance designs, in order to determine whether they would be more sensitive to change than the raw scales. Logically, it may be that change-oriented scales were successfully constructed but their utilization in subsequent experiments, mainly Colorado '68 and Vermont '69 and '70, was not an adequate test of their sensitivity because the camp in fact produced no change to which the more change sensitive scales might respond. The fact that no change occurred may also be due to the fact that there was not a control period of summer vacation without camp prior to coming to camp and that in subsequent replication the campers were returning for their second and third time. The camp may have had less of an effect in later years when the excitment and esprit de corp evoked by building the camp diminished.

In summary, two questions must remain unanswered:

1) Could change sensitive scales be developed using the above procedures particularly when the assumptions of factor analysis, etc. are not violated?

2) Would their sensitivity to change have been more conspicuous in testing change over periods of time in which greater change took place than in the above studies? The fact that the change score did reflect change in the earlier experimental designs,

Colorado '67 and Vermont '68, suggests that they were sensitive to change but the raw scale was also; consequently, that question remains unanswered.

In short, given the importance of change sensitive scales for evaluative studies, the development of change-sensitive scales certainly warrants further study.

HYPOTHESES REGARDING THE REDUCTION OF ALIENATION AND SELF-CONTROL IN THE COLORADO '68 CAMP AND THE VERMONT '69 &'70 CAMP

It was hypothesized that in the summer camps of Colorado '68 and Vermont '69 & '70 there would be a replication of previous findings; namely, the camp would significantly reduce alienation among a camper group in comparison to a control group[4]. While these hypotheses logically belong in the section on testing propositions about the proposed theory of personality and social influence, they are, included here for clarity.[5] Since understanding these hypotheses is dependent in large part upon understanding the experimental design, it is considered most appropriate to present this material in this section despite the fact that it can be viewed as a social influence-type experiment in the sense that the camp was a transfer experiment; i.e., individual were exposed to a different milieu and one that was intended to change certain attitudes and behaviors.

In the above discussion of the use of change scores and raw scores, it was found that the Colorado '68 experiment did indeed replicate the previous research with the control group becoming more alienated and the experimental group becomeing less alienated. With minor exceptions, this trend did not occur in the Vermont '69 and '70 camps. In fact, in one case the alienation increased during the camp period.

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[4] For the details of the testing hypothesis the reader is referred to the above description of the trend analysis of variance.

[5] The implications of these hypotheses for the theory of social influence are discussed in the section on social influence.

In general, it should be noted that the changes in alienation became most marked in comparison to a control group waiting to come to camp and that this control period was lacking in later replications. Also, later replications had more returning campers for whom the effect of the camp experience was diminished. To summarize the above descriptions of the various replications of the camp experiment, the hypothesis that the Colorado '68 and the Vermont '69 & '70 would cause a reduction in alienation is only partially confirmed with the most striking evidence being in the Colorado '68 group.

THE INCREASING OF SELF-CONTROL AS A RESULT OF THE CAMP EXPERIENCE

Again, because of the previous discussion of the experimental paradigm, the hypothesis regarding the effect of camp on self-control will be presented here rather than in the section on social influence. It was hypothesized that the camp would cause increases in self-control as measured by Cattell's Q3 factor on the High School Personality Questionnaire. In the summer of 1967, the Colorado experimental group was found to increase in self-control and there was an even greater decrease in self-control during the control period while waiting for camp. The differences between these different scores were significant at the .05 level. In vermont in '68, similar trends of decreasing self-control in the control group and of slightly increasing self-control in the camp group were found; the difference between these scores was significant at the .10 level. The subsequent replications of the camp were used to test the hypothesis that the same trend would occur in the summer camps of Colorado '68 and Vermont '69 & 70. For these three camp periods, all fourteen of the High School Personality Questionnaires factors were used in a trend analysis. The HSPQ was administered at the same time and in the same fashion as the TOS for all camps including the original Colorado '67 and Vermont '69 camps and their subsequent replications; that is, Colorado '68 and Vermont '69 & 70. In these three replications of the earlier camps, it was administered during the end of the school year, that is, at the start of the control waiting period and in about 3-5 weeks for the post-control and pre-camp period at the beginning of camp in early June. The post-camp test was administered at the end of 4 weeks of camp. It may be important that the control period did not include a longer period of summer vacation,"hanging out" on the streets prior to coming to camp.

The protocols were scored for the 14 personality factors and analyzed in the same way as the TOS. Change Scores were calculated for the control period and camp period and changes during camp were compared to changes during the preceding control period when the individual was still in school. The differences between the means of these two changes were tested by the appropriate T tests for any departure from zero. For the analysis from the three camps, all boys were combined into two groups, with the Colorado group having an N=13 and the Vermont group with a N=15. In this analysis, no significant departures from zero were found on Cattell's Q3 or self-control factor.

The findings show that for the Colorado campers, the only significant changes were on factor H, Shy-Venturesome. They became more timid during the control period and more venturesome during the camp period. Both these changes and the differences between them are significant at the .05 level. The Vermont campers show no significant changes on any of the factors. There is no support in either group for the hypothesis that on factor Q3 the camper would show greater self-control and discipline as a result of the camp period in comparison to the control period.

II PROCESS EVALUATION

Selective Participation and Paper and Pencil Tests

The Summer Camp offered a unique opportunity to predict and postdict selective participation of boys in a summer camp from measures of attitudes and personality traits. A step-wise multiple regression program was used to relate the six raw scales on the Teenagers Opinion Survey and the fourteen personality dimensions on Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ). Both of these tests were administered prior to and at the conclusion of campers' first stay at the camp. Forty variables, including six pretest and six postest (TOS) dimensions, and fourteen pre- and fourteen post- (HSPQ) personality dimensions, were used to predict or postdict outcome variables. These measures were: (1) selective participation in the program over the years; (2) an estimate of psychiatric impairments; (3) an estimate by the principal investigators of how much each child benefited from the program. The fourth dependent variable was the project director's dichotomizing of those who benefited most from the camp vs. those who benefited little from the camp or for whom it was a negative experience. Each of these variables will be discussed separately in presenting the data on the ability to predict the dependent variables from the forty independent variables. Each of the four variables will be discussed in terms of their predictors for the Colorad campers in 1967 and, in a separate analysis, for the Vermont campers in 1968. These two separate analyses will then be combined to include all first time campers. Except for the six campers returning from 1966, this was the first time for these subjects to participate in the Sage Hill Program. Those six campers returning from the earlier year had never taken any of the attitude scales or the personality inventory and are included in this analysis.

SELECTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMP PROGRAM

The comparision of paper and pencil tests with self selection is of importance in the matching of participants to program. Clearly all programs cannot provide appropriate services to everyone. The success of the program may be largely dependent upon the appropriateness of the matching of participants to the specific program. Given the relatively poor reliability, much less validity, of paper and pencil prediction, it may be useful to scrutinize and manipulate the pathways of entry to a program. The degree of difficulty of entering into a program can be manipulated in a variety of ways including how far one has to travel to apply, preliminary questionnaires, etc. Trial visits as used in the camp and weekend camping trips, etc., may also be useful tests of the candidates' interest in the program. In short, erecting barriers and manipulating the degree of difficulty of entering a program may prove more valuable as a screening device than paper and pencil tests; this technique may also be used in combination with paper and pencil tests to enhance the adequacy of the matching of candidates to programs.

Degree of participation constitutes a linear variable with the lowest level of participation comprised of those individuals who were offered an opportunity to come to camp but didn' Increasing participation included those who came to camp but left early; those who remained for the first full session but did not return in subsequent years; and those who returned in subsequent years up to five different years. All of the data on participation was obtained by a review of the campers' records and is accurate.

To examing the relationship of selective participation and paper and pencil tests, all of the campers in the Colorado '67 and Vermont '68 sessions were examined with regard to their attitudes as expressed in the TOS and their personality dimensions as measured by Cattell's HSPQ.

In the first analysis of all campers, Vermont and Colorado campers were combined, providing a sample of sixty-nine subjects. Selective participation in both camps was predicted on the basis of two variables which yielded a multiple correlation of .530 which, when squared, accounts for 28.1% of the variance. The self esteem or "I Am" scale on the TOS had a correlation coefficient of .471 with high self esteem being correlated with greater participation. In the next step of the regression analysis, variable E of the HSPQ raised the multiple r to .530. It was found that those who tended to participate longer in the program had higher self esteem and tended to be obedient, mild and submissive as described by Cattell's Factor E. The cut-off point for the introduction of variables in the multiple regression was when the F ratio dropped below significance at the .05 level for the particular sample size. Neither of these two predictor variables had simple correlation coefficients with either B or Beta weights with an opposite sign indicating suppression was not occuring. In the following discussion where suppression does occur it will be pointed out, but the nature of the suppression, i.e., which variable is suppressing which variable, will not be analyzed or described. In Appendix I the reader will find a correlation matrix giving the four outcome variables correlated with all of the pre and post Teenagers Opinion Survey and High School Personality Questionnaires scores for the combined Colorado and Vermont samples.

Postdicting, it was found that three variables yielded a multiple r at .464 which accounts for 21.5% of the variance. It was found that factor Q3 on the HSPQ was correlated with returning with r=.31. When factor J was added in, the correlation was raised to .391; and when the "I Am" questionnaire attitudes -- or self esteem -- was included, the multiple correlation was raised to .464. In terms of postdiction, therefore, it was found that those campers who tended to be self controlled, doubting, individualistic, restrained and who had high self esteem tended to participate to a greater extent over the years. None of these variables functioned as suppressor variables.

Looking now at the two camp groups separately, it was found that the Colorado campers' participation (N=38) could be predicted on the basis of the "I Am" scale of the TOS and factor D of the HSPQ yielding a multiple correlation of .762 which accounts for 58.1% of the variance. The participation of Colorado campers was predicted as having a high self esteem and to be high on factor D; that is, excitable, impatient and demanding. None of the other variables could meet the criteria of having signficant f's for a sample of 38. With regard to postdicting participation in the program, none of the TOS and HSPQ variables were able to meet the criteria of significance for postdicting participation. In Vermont (with a sample of 31) only one variable, namely, factor E, predicted greater participation in the program. It yielded a correlation of .61 which accounted for 37.5% of the variance; in other words, those individuals who were obedient, mild and conforming tended to participate longer.

Postdicting Vermont participation, the following variables, presented in order, were used to predict participation. Factor I on the HSPQ with an r of .55; then factor B was included which raised the multiple r to .66; and finally, factor D on the post test was included which raised the multiple r to .75 which accounted for 57% of the variance. Those campers who tended to be tender-minded, independent and more intelligent and those campers who were deliberate and inactive, tended to return to camp. In this case the postdiction is more effective in accounting for 57% of the variance in comparison to 37% of the variance for the prediction for Colorado.

A final analysis conducted was combining Vermont and Colorado campers with both pre and post diction. It was found that campers who were high on the Self Esteem (TOS #6); doubting, obstructive and individualistic (HSPQ #Q3); tended to be excitable and demanding (HSPQ #D) at the post test; and who were high on alienation (TOS #5) prior to camp tended to participate in the program. The combination of these five variables yielded a multiple correlation of .72 which accounted for 53% of the variance. In summary it would appear that campers who tended to be intelligent, self controlled and doubting do well in camp. Only in the step wise multiple regression analysis of the predictors for the combined Colorado group combining the pre and post test did a suppression occur. In this last analysis the alienation measure, the last variable introduced into the equation, correlated .298 with the outcome measure of participation. It had a negative B weight of -.02 and a negative Beta -.41 indicating that alienation was functioning as a suppressor variable. Alienation was the last variable of five introduced into the equation and accounted for an increase in the multiple correlation squared of only .044. In short while alienation functioned with a combined sample with both pre and post test predictors as a suppressor variable, its effect was limited. In none of the other equations for either the Colorado, Vermont combined or separately and using pre-tests and post-tests separately and combined did suppression occur. In summary it appears that a high degree of the variances was accounted for by the various predictor variables.

Looking now at the correlates of selective participation in camp, we find that for the combined sample participation was correlated -.084 with psychiatric impairment and .009 with the Colorado sample and -.178 with the Vermont sample. None of these are statistically significant. Another variable in the multiple regression analysis was the project dicrector and researchers' estimate of who benefited from camp. In one study all campers were rated on a scale of 1-4 for the extent to which they benefited from camp. On the combined sample it was found that returning correlated .80 with estimates of how much they got out of camp. Breaking that down, selective participation was correlated .90 with the Colorado sample and .678 with the Vermont sample.

In the next analysis, selective participation was correlated with a dichotomization of those campers who got a great deal out of camp in contrast to those for whom the camp was a negative experience in the opinion of the researcher. By eliminating the middle group it was hoped to improve the correlation which in fact it did. It was found that this dichotomization was correlated .938 with the entire group; with the Vermont sample, it was correlated .930 (with a sample size of 12) and with the Colorado group (with a sample size of 14) was correlated .952. Clearly those who returned to camp were seen as having benefited more from camp both on the ratings of all campers and on the dichotomous rating.

Unfortunately these measures were not independent. The estimates of how much campers benefited was made after campers had had an opportunity to return for as many as five years. The project director clearly felt that those who continued to return were benefiting from it. A more useful analysis would have been how much each camper benefited from the program after the conclusion of one summer. Unfortunately this was not possible but such data would be more relevant for determining the predictive values of various instruments and the contribution of self selection in the screening of individuals for participation in programs. It might be said that paper and pencil measures did,,although not in a consistent fashion predict across samples and account for a relatively large percentage of the variance for those campers who tended to return.

Ratings of who benefited from camp were correlated with psychiatric impairment. All campers were rated on a scale of 1-4, from symptom free or well to severely impaired; the ratings were primarily the director's. They sought, as psychiatric impairment ratings do, to avoid the problems of reliability and validity of nosological categories such as neurotic, psychotic, sociopathic, adjustment reactions, etc., and seek only to assess the extent to which mental illness impaired the individual. Again they were not independent of the rater's knowledge of who tended to return, got much out of camp, etc. In the instance of the Colorado camp, all of the staff rated the individuals and the project director's rating essentially coincided with those of other raters. In Vermont the same was primarily true except some individuals had not received a rating from all of the staff and therefore the director' rating was used. For purposes of analysis, it can be considered that they were essentially the director's ratings and that few estimates of reliability are available.

Prior to examining the ability to predict psychiatric impairment on the basis of the TOS and the HSPQ, it will be useful to examine the relationship of psychiatric impairment to the other dependent variables. It was essentially unrelated to who tended to return to camp. With the combined samples, the correlation was -.08; with the Colorado sample it was .001; and with the Vermont sample it was -.17. It appears, therefore, that those who tended to return to camp were neither particularly impaired or symptom free.

With regard to the director's estimates of how much individuals got out of camp, this, too, was essentially unrelated to psychiatric impairment. In the combined sample, the correlation was -.04; in the Colorado sample it was .09; and in the Vermont sample, it was .24. Psychiatric impairment ratings were found to be correlated to a greater degree with the dichotomization of those who got a great deal out of camp and those who got little out of camp. In the combined samples psychiatric impairment was correlated with this dichotomization at -.29; for the Colorado sample there was a .00 correlation and for the Vermont sample there was a positive correlation of .54. That is, those who were high on psychiatric impairment tended to be estimated as getting a great deal out of camp.

PSYCHIATRIC IMPAIRMENT

Looking now at the predictors of psychiatric impairment for the combined sample (Colorado and Vermont), we find that those who were found to be high on psychiatric impairment tended on the pre-test to be high on HSPQ factor J: doubting, obstructive, individualistic; low on HSPQ factor C: emotionally less stable, easily upset; high on the TOS personal responsibility #2 scale of the TOS; and high on HSPQ factor I; tender minded dependent and overprotected. Presenting these factors in the same order, the step wise multiple regression correlations coefficients rise starting with variable J from .31 to, with C, .395; .46 for personal responsibility; and finally with the inclusion of factor I raises the multiple r to .51 which accounts for 26% of the variance. None of the predictors functioned as suppressor variables.

Looking now at the Colorado sample, we found that psychiatric impairment was only predicted on the pre test HSPQ factor J yielding a correlation of .51 which accounts for 26.9% of the variance. In the Vermont sample we find that HSPQ factor C is the only variable meeting the F test criteria for predictors of psychiatric impairment. It yields a correlation coefficient of .41 which accounts for 17.11% of the variance. In other words, individuals who tended to be emotionally stable were regarded as not psychiatrically impaired.

On the postdiction of psychiatric impairment we find for the Colorado and Vermont groups that those individuals who were high on HSPQ factor I (tenderminded) and low on HSPQ factor F (sober and prudent) tended to be high on psychiatric impairment, with the multiple correlation being equal to .40 which accounts for approximately 16% of the variance. In the Colorado sample, impairment is postdicted by HSPQ factor H (venturesome and socially bold); and the correlation is .69 which accounts for 47.7% of the variance.

Finally, in the Vermont sample, none of the variables reached the criteria of a significant F for predicting psychiatric impairment.

In summary, it seems that psychiatric impairment was relatively unrelated to those who tended to return to camp and those who were regarded by the director as having benefited from the camp except possibly for the Vermont sample. The variables that do predict psychiatric impairment for the different samples tend to emphasize emotional stability, being venturesome and having a strong sense of personal responsibility, etc. Overall, however, these variables seem relatively unrelated to the concept of impairment except possibly in the Colorado sample in which 47.7% of the variance was accounted for in the post tests.

ESTIMATES OF WHO BENEFITED FROM CAMP, THE TEENAGERS OPINION SURVEY AND HIGH SCHOOL PERSONALITY QUESTIONNAIRE SCALES

On a scale of 1-4 of the extent to which they benefited from the camp, the project director made an estimate for all of the 64 campers and those whom he knew including those who did not remai camp. Individuals who benefited little from the camp were given a zero (0) and those who appeared to have benefited most were given a 4. In this way 33 individuals in the Colorado sample were rated on benefiting from camp and 31 in the Vermont sample. Benefiting from camp was highly related to returning to camp. In the combined sample the correlation coefficient was .80; in the Colorado sample it was .91; and in the Vermont sample was .678. Unfortunately because the ratings of who benefited were made after they had attended camp the two variables are not independent. All one can say conclusively is that in the estimate of the researcher, who was also project director, those who tended to return also tended to be viewed by the director as benefiting from camp. Because of the lack of independence in the ratings, returning to camp was not included in the multiple regression on those who benefited from camp. Had it been included, undoubtedly practically all of the variance would have been accounted for. Given the lack of independence of the ratings, this inclusion was not justifiable and as a result, only multiple regression studies were done of the ability to predict and postdict on the basis of TOS and HSPQ scores.

Retrospectively in going over the lists of youngsters on whom ratings were made of who benefited from camp, it appears these after the-fact ratings (which were done after the youngsters had a chance to return to camp for as many as 5 summers) appeared to be similar to ratings that would have been made at the first summer. In other words, it appeared to the rater that those who benefited from camp appear to have done so at the first summer and that this would have been a good predictor of greater participation in the camp and having benefited from it. This, of course, is a retrospective analysis, the two ratings are not independent and thus this conclusion is suspect.

Starting with an examination of the combined Vermont and Colorado samples (N=64) we find that those who tended to return to camp saw the group as being effective (TOS factor 4.)

In the Vermont sample only one variable met the criteria of having a significant F in terms of predicting who benefited from the camp as rated by the director. Those who tended to be tense, driven and overwrought (HSPQ Q4) tended to benefit from the camp. The correlation was .51 which accounts for approximately 26% of the variance.

Turning now to the postdiction of benefiting from summer camp, we find that in the combined sample, those who tended to be controlled and self-disciplined (HSPQ factor Q_3) and conscientious and persevering (HSPQ factor G) tended to be regarded as benefiting from the camp. In order, starting with self controlled, the multiple regression yielded a correlation of .279 and, with the introduction of variable HSPQ factor G yielded a multiple of .382 which accounted for only 14.6% of the variance.

Examining the Colorado sample, we find that those who were high on self esteem on the post test and who were low on HSPQ factor F (that is tended to be sober, prudent and serious) were regarded as having benefited from the camp program. The first variable, TOS #6, Self Esteem, yielded a correlation coefficient of .404 which, with the addition of the HSPQ factor F raised the multiple r to .521 accounting for 27.1% of the variance. Beyond this, new variables were not introduced because they could not criteria of having a significant F.

In the Vermont sample only one variable met the criteria for having a signficant F. Those who were rated as having benefitted from camp were found to be low on HSPQ factors Q4; that is they were relaxed and tranquil at the pre test.

In the Vermont sample, the postdiction of who benefitted from camp was based on those who were high on HSPQ factor B (more intelligent); tended to be high on self sufficiency (HSPQ factor Q2), high on being outgoing, warm hearted and easy-going (factor A) and high on self control (factor Q3). In order these variables yielded correlations, starting with factor B, of .435; .596; .688; .736. The multiple correlations squared accounted for 54.2% of the variance. At this point in the step wise multiple regression, the introduction of new variables could not meet the criteria of having a significant F for a sample size of .31.

In this equation the post test factor A functioned as a suppressor variable. Its simple r with the outcome variable was .04 and it had a B weight equal to -.25 and a beta weight equal to -.53. The inclusion of factors changed the multiple r^2 by .117 indicating a modest suppression effect.

DICHOTOMIZATION OF THOSE WHO BENEFITED FROM THE CAMP AND THEIR PRE AND POST DICTION

On the assumption that the ratings of those who benefited from the camp were on an ordinal rather than an interval scale, the population was dichotomized. The project director (and principal investigator) divided campers into those individuals he felt most clearly benefited from the camp and those who benefited from the camp. This yielded a sample of N=26. For obvious reasons, in the combined sample those who would benefit on the 1-4 scale was highly correlated with the dichotomization of that variable, the correlation being .869. The correlation in the Vermont sample was r=.786 and in the Colorado sample the correlation was r=.939. The dichotomized population was more strongly related to selective participation than was the group rated on a 1-4 scale of who benefited from the camp correlated with the combined sample on the selective participation of the camp at a .938 level for a sample of 26. In the Colorado sample the correlation of returning to camp and the dichotomization was .952 and in Vermont .930. Clearly the director tended to view those who benefited most from the camp as having returned to camp. It is his opinion that youngsters vote with their feet and as a result, the two measures were undoubtedly not independent.

Looking now at the independent variables which tend to predict this dichotomization, we find that in the combined sample, which included 26 youngsters, individuals who were highly self controlled

(HSPQ Q3), tended to be regarded as having benefited from camp. The correlation was .469, accounting for 22% of the variance. In the Colorado sample, it was found that of the 14 individuals rated, none of the predicted variables for the TOS or HSPQ met the significance level for criterion to predict succeeding in camp. In the Vermont sample of 12 youngsters, it was found that those individuals who tended to be low HSPQ Q4, i.e. relaxed and tranquil; high HSPQ Q3, socially controlled; low HSPQ E, i.e. obedient; who felt the individual was personally responsible for his actions; and who was high on HSPQ I, tender-minded, was rated as among those who clearly benefited the most. The multiple correlations, in order and starting with variable Q4, go from .805, .933, .973, .999, and .999 for variable I; that is, those who are tender-minded. This multiple correlation essentially accounts for all of the variance.

Turning now to the postdiction of having benefited from the camp for the combined group (N=26) we find that those who were high on variable HSPQ B at the post test, that is those who were more intelligent, were rated as having benefited most from camp. The correlation was .452, accounting for 20.4% of the variance.

In the Colorado sample none of the variables met the criteria of having a significant F for postdicting. In the Vermont sample we find that those individuals who tend to be self-sufficient (HSPQ Q2); self-controlled (HSPQ Q3); venturesome and socially bold (HSPQ H) were rated as having benefited most from camp. The correlations with the introduction of these variables rise in order from .754 to .968 to .999, which accounts for essentially all of the variance. Again, those who most clearly benefited from the camp tend to be self-sufficient, controlled, more intelligent and generally more effective and competent people. This finding tends to corroborate the picture that comes to mind of the type of inner city boy who would be willing to go to a summer work camp far removed from the inner city environment that he knows. They would clearly need to hold themselves in fairly high regard, be self-confident, independent and venturesome. Their interest in a program run by a university professor might indicate a more academic orientation and upward mobility. The test of intelligence can be perhaps considered as more indicative of acculturation to non-ghetto life than of intelligence.

The most striking finding is that practically all of the variance was accounted for without suppression effects in those who were regarded as having benefited from the camp either on a 1-4 scale or in the dichotomization. This occurred in both but this high degree of predicting those who benefit from it seems to be specific to the population. That is, the variables that accounted for having benefited from one setting such as Colorado were different somewhat from those variables which predicted who would benefit from the program in Vermont. The predicting of those who benefited from camp is greater for the Vermont sample than for the Colorado sample.

The Development and Utilization of Process Measures as Daily Behavior Ratings

In the last quarter century a variety of studies such as Stanton and Schwartz (1954), Caudill (1958) and Stotland and Kobler (19 have delineated the impact of group mood, organizational tensions and ward atmosphere on psychiatric patients' behavior and symptoms. More recently Feeney (1973) in his paper "The Use of Feedback to Improve the Operation of Residential Treatment Settings" reviews some of these studies and points out the need for more ongoing feedback. One mechanism for such feedback is the automated nursing note system devised by Gleuck and his associates (1967). In a judicious use of space age technology, they developed an optically scanned automated nursing note system. Nursing staff rated patients on behavior and these ratings were fed into a computer and compiled into behavior scales. Staff could then use an on line terminal and have a plot of the patient's behavior displayed over the last nine days on such dimensions as aggression, withdrawal, etc. The plots also showed the relationship between the patient's behavior and the group's behavior over the same period. In this way accurate data was immediately and readily available regarding the patient's behavior, the group mood and the relationship between the two.

Such a complicated and technically sophisticated system of feedback was not feasible for the Sage Hill Camp program. A more modest system of daily behavior rating was implemented for research purposes. One of the byproducts of such an automated nursing note, which may prove to be a major benefit, is that in filling out comprehensive behavior ratings on individuals, staff were forced to examine all individuals in a comparable manner. This may make them more attentive to those who tend to go unnoticed and provides a common basis for discussion with other staff. The following is a description of the procedures used to identify and measure salient behavioral dimensions and the use of daily behavior ratings in research on the program.

THE DAILY BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE

From a pool of several hundred items, 75 items were selected for inclusion on the daily behavior rating form (presented in Appendix F). Items then were selected to be both a comprehensive and, at the item level, to require little inference, i.e. to be objective, concrete and explicit. They were designed to have a medium range of reliability in terms of test retest correlation. Such a medium range of reliability is necessary so that changes plotted over time could be meaningful. Congruent with the earlier discussion of change scores, items were designed to reflect meaningful day-to-day changes in behavior. The pool of items was developed conceptually, drawing on behaviors relevant to different settings and the reaction of the rater to the camper, etc. The areas of behavior included staff or raters' reaction to the camper; how the camper was at work; how he behaved with peers; how he was in general; and overall evaluative ratings. While these items were selected to be relevant to these domains, factor analysis provided a deductive approach to scale construction.

Factor analytic procedures were used for the selection of items for scale construction. The details of the factor analysis are only briefly presented here because they are considered less important than the psychometric characteristics of the scale; these details are presented later with the item to scale score correlation with the item included and deleted, the alpha coefficient of the scale and the interclass correlation of the raters. This data will be presented for the 1970 daily behavior ratings which were made on an average of 14 campers.

One reason the factor analysis was not relied on extensively is that many of the assumptions of factor analysis were violated. The most important violation was that each of the sets of 75 ratings was regarded as independent when in fact each camper (i.e., each camper on a given day) was regarded as independent of that same camper on the other days. They were repeated measures on the same group of campers. In the summer of 1969 about 25 campers were rated each day. The number of campers was 28 at the beginning of summer with some dropping out during the summer.

Final ratings were compiled on the 25 campers. In the summer of 1970, 14 campers were rated on a daily basis and 16 campers (2 older campers were included in the final ratings) were rated in each case by five different raters. In addition to camper-day ratings being incorrectly treated as independent ratings, the final ratings--that is ratings on the campers' overall behavior during the summer were also incorrectly treated as independent. In this instance five raters rated each youngster for his performance over the summer, meaning that the rating of each camper by each rater was incorrectly treated as an independent rating. In short, repeated measures of the same individual were included in the factor analysis, which lessened the variance and yielded unusually high factor loadings. This was deemed necessary in order to increase the sample size. While the assumptions of factor analysis were violated, this factor analysis was used only for item selection purposes.

The factor analysis program in the data text system was used. Four separate factor analyses were conducted on the data; these were all the daily ratings for the campers in 1969 and 1970 with each camper-day rating treated as independent. Two separate factor analyses were conducted on the final ratings with the camper-rater being treated as independent ratings which they were not. In terms of the factor analysis itself, an inter-item correlation matrix was computed on the 75 items. This was then factor analyzed using principal components procedures. The highest column correlation was used in the diagonals of the matrix. Four factors were extracted which appeared relatively invariant over the four different factor analyses. These factors were then rotated to a verimax solution.

Using these factor analytic procedures, five scales were constructed. This is one more scale than the number of factors extracted from the matrix; in this case a factor was divided into two scales for conceptual purposes. A Likert scaling program was then used to score the scales and to compute their psychometric characteristics. This program has an option which allows for the prorating of missing data. In this option an individual score was not computed if one did not have at least 60% of the items defining the scale completed. Where missing data did not exceed this criteria, the other item was computed and this value inserted. In short, missing data was prorated and the average of other items was used for the scale in contrast to using the mid-point of the scale or other procedures for missing data. This program computes the item to scale correlation with the item included and deleted. This data is presented along with items defining the scale in the next section. The inter-item correlation matrix is also computed but this data is not presented here for each of the scales. Finally, an alpha coefficient or estimate of reliability is included for each of these scales. Again, it should be recalled that these psychometric characteristics of the scale are likely to be inflated because of the incorrect assumption that camper-day ratings or camper-day-rater ratings were independent when in fact they were not.

With the limitations in mind with regard to the above described background procedure in scale construction, the following are the scales derived from the daily behavior ratings.

The first scale describes a poor worker; that is, one who had to be reprimanded, pushed to work and showed little initiative. He was easily distracted, required supervision, was uncooperative, lazy and tended to "fool around." He was a follower rather than a leader, was unproductive, incompetent, set a bad example, was passive and seemed to dislike work. This scale was the most concrete of the scales and thus lends itself to a higher intra-rater agreement. The intra-class correlation was equal to .73 and had an F value of 14.34 for 15/64 degrees of freedom. The alpha for the scale was .954. In short, the scale has excellent psychometric characteristics and shows the greatest agreement between the different raters based on their final "99" ratings; that is, the summary ratings at the end of camp.

POOR WORKER

Scale 1

Sum of Squares:

Alpha .945
Intra-class Correlation = .73
F value = 14.34 for 15/64 degrees of freedom

Var.	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
1	reprimanded	.55	.59
2	pushed to work	.67	.71
−19*	show initiative	.68	.72
21	easily distracted	.71	.74
24	require supervision	.67	.70
26	cooperative-uncooperative	.82	.85
27	hard working-lazy	.85	.88
28	leader-follower	.69	.75
29	serious-fooled around	.67	.73
30	productive-unproductive	.87	.90
31	competent-incompetent	.77	.81
32	enjoys work-dislikes work	.81	.85
65	good example-bad example	.79	.83
66	active-passive	.69	.74

− * indicates the item is reversed

The second scale is called the Acts Out Scale and defines an individual whom the staff tended to argue with and who complained of staff and campers alike. He "ranks" (teases) others, is a bully, boastful, show-off, and is aggressive. He tends to be grandiose, flaunts his masculinity, is theatrical and sarcastic and uncompromising This scale, with its higher degree of inference, had an intra-class correlation of .44 based on an F value of 4.89 again with 15/65 degrees of freedom. The alpha for the scale is equal to .869.

ACTS OUT

Scale 2
Sum of Squares:
Alpha .869
Intra-class Correlation = .44
F value = 4.89 for 15/64 degrees of Freedom

Var.	Item	Corrected R	Uncorrected R
6	argued with	.51	.59
15	complained of staff	.46	.53
16	complained of campers	.46	.56
33	ranks others	.59	.67
34	bullies	.52	.58
39	boasts (talks)	.71	.78
40	shows off (acts)	.60	.68
42	aggressive; pushy; abrasive	.59	.66
44	flaunts masculinity	.50	.58
50	grandiose about self	.72	.78
56	sarcastic, cutting	.44	.53
57	uncompromising	.41	.52
59	dramatic, theatrical	.51	.61

The third scale describes a troubled isolate; that is, one who ingratiated himself to the staff and who sought help, received help and often talked of personal problems. The staff protected this camper who tended to be isolated, worked alone and stayed with few friends. He was childish, did odd things, was apprehensive and was a day dreamer. The intra-class correlation equaled .37 based on an F value of 3.90 for 15/64 degrees of freedom. The higher level of inference probably caused the lower intra-class correlation for the scale. The alpha was computed to equal .783.

TROUBLED ISOLATE

Scale 3
Sum of Squares:
Alpha .783
Intra-class correlation = 37
F value = 3.90 for 15/64 degrees of freedom

Var	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
7	ingratiated to you	.34	.48
10	camper sought help	.44	.57
11	gave help to camper	.44	.57
13	talked of personal problem	.49	.59
14	protected camper	.54	.61
23	work alone	.35	.48
36	isolated	.50	.64
41	stays with few friends	.39	.54
45	does odd things	.43	.54
47	childish	.49	.61
49	apprehensive, phobic	.35	.45
53	daydreams	.39	.49

The fourth scale describes a good participant. That is, somebody who, on a given day, appeared to be praiseworthy, talkative, and gregarious. And he had a good day, was active, cheerful, accepted routine and appeared to get along well and to be involved in the life of the camp. The scale had an intra-class correlation of .425, based on an F value of 5.02 for 15/64 degrees of freedom. The internal consistency, as measured by alpha, is .905.

GOOD PARTICIPANT

Scale 4
Sum of Squares:
Alpha .905
Intra-class Correlation = .45
F value = 5.02 for 15/64 degrees of freedom

Var	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
12	praiseworthiness	.60	.67
18	friendly	.54	.60
20	talkative	.27	.38
37	gregarious	.37	.45
-63*	had good day-had bad day	.72	.78
-64	friendly-unfriendly	.69	.74
-66	active-passive	.73	.79
-67	cheerful-complaining	.72	.78
68	resists routine-accepts routine	.72	.79
-69	involved-uninvolved	.76	.81
-70	likes camp-dislikes camp	.76	.81
-71	gets along well-doesn't get along well	.70	.75

- * indicates the item is reversed

The last scale derived from the factor analysis of the daily behavior ratings is called the communicative scale. It implies an individual who tended to go unnoticed, whom you had to set limits for and who talked of personal problems. He was friendly, gregarious, dramatic and tended to talk of the city, girls and family. This scale shows the least agreement among the raters, having an intra-class correlation of .27 which, while significant at the .01 level based upon an F value of 2.85 for 15/64 degrees of freedom showed the least agreement among the staff.

COMMUNICATIVE

Scale 5
Sum of Squares:
Alpha .617
Intra-class Correlation = .27
F value = 5.02 for 15/64 degrees of freedom

Var	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
-5*	went unnoticed	.0	.18
8	set limits for	.20	.46
13	talked of personal problem	.30	.46
18	friendly	.19	.41
20	talkative	.43	.63
37	gregarious	.40	.60
59	dramatic, theatrical	.44	.61
60	talks of city	.44	.60
61	talks of girls	.28	.49
62	talks of family	.16	.31

-* indicated the item is reversed

These then are the scales which were derived from the factor analysis and the scale procedure.

In summary then, the five daily behavior rating scales appear to be relatively invariant over the factor analysis of four different sets of data. Factor loadings are falsely inflated by the use of repeated measures of the same individuals who were treated as independent, and that thirteen of the campers involved in the 1970 data had been rated on a daily basis in the 1969 data. With all of these limitations, however, the items appear to represent clearly defined scales. Conceptually they have a clear underling construct. These scales appear to have both face and construct validity and are adequate in terms of their psychometric characteristics.

In terms of the use of the scales as instruments for assessing both group and individual mood on a daily basis, more limitations have to be introduced. The most serious limitation on the use of this for assessing group mood is that the raters were not assigned on a random basis to the different subjects. In the camp program, campers were allowed to choose their work projects and were given relatively freedom of movement within the camp program. Rating was done by those people who had the most contacts with the individual during that day. In short, self selection worked and individuals were not randomly rated.

The Vermont 1970 ratings were generally more carefully done on a daily basis and on a final basis. Where hypotheses have been tested regarding the effect of group mood on behavior, etc, these ratings were used. The ratings in 1969, while clustering in a similar fashion (i.e., yielding similar scales), were probably less reliable measures for research purposes. They tended to not be done on a daily basis and to be done in a more haphazard manner. In summary then the daily behavior ratings can be summarized as yielding at best relatively stable constallations of items that appear to have clear face validity. The items in fact do hang together and form scales with adequate psychometric characteristics. Their use for research purposes however is limited because of the violation of assumptions of independence between the camper and rater rating, the non-random assignment of raters to campers and the relatively poor inter-rater reliability. In short, for research purposes, these behavior ratings can only be considered as a large and extensive pilot project suggestive of future research. With these limitations in mind they will be employed in the testing of subsequent hypotheses regarding individual and group mood and its relationship to the behavior, attitudes and motivations of campers.

RATING PROCEDURE

Each day the staff made ratings of the individual whom they had contact with. As stated previously a weakness of the study is that raters were not randomly assigned to campers and that self selection was allowed to work in terms of what staff rated what youngsters. Furthermore, the ratings reflected the fact that the staff had different types of relationships with the campers, some of which were close and friendly, while others appeared to be more distant. If the ratings were done accurately, they might reflect, not the child's behavior, but the relationship between the child and the staff. There are also problems in that the staff tended to see the individual as more aggressive or more talkative depending on their own definition of talkativeness. They may have rated differently, but, in terms of ranking the campers on these various dimensions, their rankings appear similar as measured by the intra-class correlation. That individual raters had different definitions of what constituted talkativeness, agressiveness, etc., was a problem that had to be dealt with later in testing hypotheses. This problem will be discussed in that section.

Three types of ratings were conducted. The first type was the daily behavior ratings on every individual each day where possible. The second ratings conducted at the end of the first week of camp. These ratings, designated as "88" ratings, were only made by three of the five staff. Finally, at the end of camp each staff made a final rating for the over-all performance of the youngster. These final ratings were made by all five staff, including the three who had made the 88 ratings. There is a contradiction in using daily behavior ratings, which by intention are designed to reflect daily changes in behavior, for overall ratings for the whole month. Be that as it may, these then were the ratings that were conducted: the daily ratings, the 88 ratings at the end of one week and a 99 rating at the end of camp. These three sets of ratings have been used as a process type evaluation and for testing hypotheses with regard to daily behavior and alienation. The following are some of the hypotheses that were tested.

Behavior Change

Hypothesis 1: It was hypothesized that there would be improvements in behavior over the camp period. To test this hypothesis, the ratings of campers made by the three staff at the end of one week were compared to the ratings by the same three staff at the end of camp. In other words three staff rated all the youngsters on the basis of their first week's performance and their overall camp performance.

Two tests were conducted to see if differences did occur between the first and last week of camp. No statistically significant differences were found on the five behavior ratings scales by these three staff who did the ratings. The significance of the T value for the five scores are as follows: Scale 1 had a two-tailed probability of .771; Scale 2 had a probability of .511; Scale 3 had a probability of .211; Scale 4 had a two-tailed probability for the 2 value of .554 and finally the fifth Scale had a two-tailed probability of .724.

In short there were no statistically significant differences for the means of the group of 42 ratings between the first week and the last week of camp. The 14 youngsters were rated by each of the three staff, yielding 42 ratings for the first week and the last week. Since each rater rated before and after using their own level or definition of "aggressiveness or talkativeness"; i.e., the variable measure was taken into account.

It should be recalled that in the Vermont 1970 camp session, only one new camper attended the camp and all the others were former campers who were returning, in some cases, for their third session. For this reason then there may not have been much opportunity to change in that the camp was not a new experience except for the one new camper.

To further test the hypothesis that changes in behavior occurred between the first week and the last week of camp, the individual camper-day ratings--that is, each camper was rated on each day for the first week and the last week--were compared. In only one of these comparisons--on variables of the "Acts Out" scale--were significant differences found between the groups. On the "Acts Out" scale, 81 first week observations were compared with 83 last week observations. This yielded a T value of -1.94 which had a two tailed probability with a separate variance estimate of a two tailed probability of .053. In the first week the 81 campers had a mean value of 15.90 and 83 camper ratings made in the last week had a mean value of 17.03, indicating that there was more "acting out" in the last week than in the first week. This finding may be a chance finding, since many T tests were conducted, or it may be a reliable finding. The two tailed probability estimate for the two tailed probability on the other behavior variables were: Variable #1 = .94; Variable #3 = .85; Variable #4 = .48; Variable #5 = .74.

In summary then, only on the act-out variable -- i.e., did youngsters tend to act out more in the last week than the first week -- were significant differences found between the first and last week of camp. For the reasons discussed, there may not have been much opportunity for change because there were no new campers. In any case in all but the acts-out dimensions there appeared to be no change in camp between the first and last week of camp.

Alienation and Peer Orientation

Hypothesis 2: It was hypothesized that youngsters who were high on alienation would tend to be more peer oriented whereas those who were low on alienation would tend to be more adult oriented. It was reasoned that those youngsters who were higher on alienation would be adapting to group norms and would thus be more peer oriented. The group norms for many disadvantaged youngsters is to live for today and not to plan ahead because there is little likelihood that tomorrow will be much better, and a cynicism about people and a sense of powerlessness. Those individuals who are low on alienation, i.e., who sensed a greater degree of responsibility for their own fate and were more optimistic about their own future, would be more adult oriented and would relate more to the staff in camp situation.

This hypothesis was formulated prior to the factor analysis and the construction of scales of the daily behavior ratings. It was based on the assumption that there would be a peer orientedness scale. Unfortunately the scale construction did not yield any scales which were clearly a measure of peer orientation per se. Clearly the poor worker, acts out, and communicative scales are not particularly clear measures of peer orientation. The troubled isolate scale possibly shows a greater peer orientation as would the good participant scale. However, neither of these scales are clearly measures of peer orientation. The relationships between these various scales and alienation are discussed in detail in the section on behavioral correlates of alienation. Briefly however, it was found that the pre-camp alienation measure R-5 was correlated with the five ratings on the final good worker scale at -.442, -.233, -.152, .062, and -.229. The acts out scale had only one significant correlation between the pre-camp alienation measure and the acts out scale; that correlation was a .650. The remaining correlations were not significant and were positive. The troubled isolate scale showed slight but all negative relationships with the pre-camp alienation measure; these were respectively -.122, -.348, -.339, -.004, and -.488 for the five different ratings. The good participant scale was correlated with the five ratings as follows: .218, .223, .173, -.240, and -.243. Finally the communicative scale showed a higher correlation, with the more communicative person being less alienated. The correlations with this scale were -.644, -.172, -.188, -.343, -.592. These correlations, two of which were statistically significant at the .05 level for a two-tailed test, showed that the alienated person tended to be less communicative. Only in this instance did alienation appear to be related to behavior but not consistently across all raters. It therefore must be considered a very tentative finding.

This, however, is not an adequate test of the hypothesis that alienated individuals are more peer-oriented, because these scales do not clearly measure peer orientation. In order to provide a fairer test for this hypothesis, individual items were selected from the 75 daily behavior items to determine their correlations between the pretest and the post-tests on the alienation scores of the individual items. The following items were selected: They are #9 "talked to camper"; #10 "camper sought help"; #1 "gave help to camper"; #13 "talked of personal problems" and #16 "complained of campers." All of these individual items were taken from the staff reaction to camper section. It was assumed that if the camper is interacting with the staff in these important areas, then it is a measure of adult orientedness.

Two items were selected from the "with peers" section to measure peer orientation. These were Item #36, "isolated" and Item #37, "gregarious." On the basis of face validity, these items were assumed to be measures of peer orientation.

It should be noted that the chances of confirming this hypothesis are greatly diminished because the pre and post camp alienation measures are being correlated with items and not with a scale in peer orientation. The reliability of individual items is obviously less than that of a scale and results are similarly likely to be less related. Furthermore, the alienation measure (R 5) is being related to the 99 measures by five different raters, including the director. Therefore, the 8 items of behavior as measured by five different observers are being correlated with both a pre and post test measure of alienation yielding 80 correlations between the individual items by five individual raters and a pre or post alienation (R5) measure. Such a large number of correlations is likely to lead to chance correlations. For a correlation to appear significant, it would need to be correlated with more than one of the ratings of alienation. As the agreement between raters at the item level is relatively low, this further complicates the problem. In short this study can only be considered exploratory.

The following is a correlation in which rater #1 is the director and his correlations are given to both the pre-test and the post-test with the 8 individual items. In this rating the only significant correlations found were with "talked to camper," which was related to the alienation pre test at -.792 and to the post test at -.702. In both cases the more alienated person spoke less to the director. In this study, the pretest alienation was found to be correlated with the director's rating -.701 and -.338 and with the post test with "talked to camper." This similar pattern was found with rater #2 but not among the other raters. In this instance the alienated person tended to talk less to the staff involved. For "camper sought help," the correlations with the pretest and post-test were .375 and .241 respectively. For neither rater is this correlation significant nor are they significant with any of the other raters. In the "gave help to camper" item, the rating was .444 with the pretest and .511 with the post-test. That is, less help was given to those who were less alienated. Rater 2 and Rater 3 showed similar correlations but only one of the director's ratings was significant; that is, with the post-test measure. "Talked of personal problems" was rated by the director and correlated with alienation on the pretest at -.408 and -.237 on the post-test, neither of which was significant. Only for rater 4 was a significant correlation found whereby those who talked of their personal problems tended to be less alienated. In the "complained of campers" item, there appears to be no significant correlations. The director's pre-camp rating was correlated .296 with the alienation pre-camp test and -.154 with the post camp test.

Turning now to the peer orientation, the director's rating for the individual who was isolated was .333 with the pre test and .183 with the post test. For gregariousness, the correlation with the pretest was .122 and for the post test .379. Neither of these correlations is significant and in fact they are contradictory, with high alienation being correlated with both gregariousness and isolation. For two of the other isolation ratings, there were found to be significant correlations with two of the other raters; with rater 4, .678 and rater 5, -.680. (It may be that the rater 5 is rating was reversed by accident but that cannot be determined.)

In summary, it appears unlikely that alienation was related to peer orientation. A few significant correlations between the peer or adult orientation items were found but these were not consistent across observers. One can only conclude that peer orientation was not related to alienation. It should, however, be kept in mind that from a methodological point of view the use of individual behavior ratings at the item level rather than at the scale level introduces such great problems with reliability that it cannot be considered a conclusive test of the hypothesis. Clearly one would have to construct scales measuring peer orientation and then correlate these with alienation. On the basis of the above data, however, it does not appear that alienation is related to those individual items measuring adult orientation or peer orientation.

Group Mood and Alienation

Hypothesis 3: It was hypothosized that alienation would relate to group mood; specifically, that when things were going well in the group, the more alienated individual would be less likely to become involved and to be a "good participant," worker, etc. Also hypothesized was that the less alienated person, when the social climate was positive, would respond and show differences in behavior. Previous correlational studies of alienation did not reveal significant and reliable patterns of behavioral correlates for alienation. The study proposed to relate behavior over a period of time to alienation to see if there were behavioral differences in those who were more or less alienated. In order to test this hypothesis the four people scoring highest on the pre-camp alienation scale (R5) were compared over time to the bottom four or the four least alienated individuals. As stated previously, fourteen campers in the year 1970 were plotted on daily behavior ratings; two other campers were rated only at the end of camp. It was only on the 14 individuals that consistent daily behavior ratings were obtained. These individuals were ranked and the top four were plotted over the days in which behavior ratings were made in comparison to the other four. There are limitations in that this number of campers is very small and in terms of statistical power for a repeated measure analysis of variance, contrasting two groups of four campers over at most 25 different days of ovservation is inadequate. In ranking the scores on alienation, breaks did occur between the top four and top fifth in alienation and between the bottom fourth and the bottom fifth. Despite the loss of statistical power, the top four and bottom four were contrasted because they represented most clearly the highs and lows on alienation. To increase the sample size to five would have lowered the distinction in terms of the alienation measure. In summary, the top four individuals on the alienation scale were plotted over all the days in which behavior ratings were made for them in comparison to the bottom four.on the five behavior rating scales.

A serious problem was introduced by the lack of comparability between the raters and their own base line measures of what is a troubled isolate, a communicative person and so forth. In other words, the individual raters disagreed on what constituted troubled isolates, etc. The intra-class correlation indicates that the five different raters ranked the individuals similarly but they tended to have different base levels. This fact, in combination with the fact that raters were not randomly assigned to individuals over the 25 days of ratings, tended to compound the problem. If, for example, raters who differ in their base line in the behavior ratings happen to work with a particular group of individuals either high or low, this could "wash out" differences between the group. In order to avoid this problem, change scores were computed. Specifically, every camper who was rated by a staff on any given day had subtracted from that rating that same staff's rating of the camper at the end of the season. In other words, every youngster who had been rated by the staff had subtracted from that daily rating that individual staff's final rating. Consequently, the scores that were plotted over time were the degree of change from the overall 99 rating. For example if an individual tended to have a mean of 16 on the acts out scale at the end of camp (on the 99 rating) and on one day had a 19 on that scale, the change would be computed with the 19 having subtracted from it the 16, yielding a score of +3. In other words, the scores plotted over time the daily ratings by each staff less the 99 or final ratings.

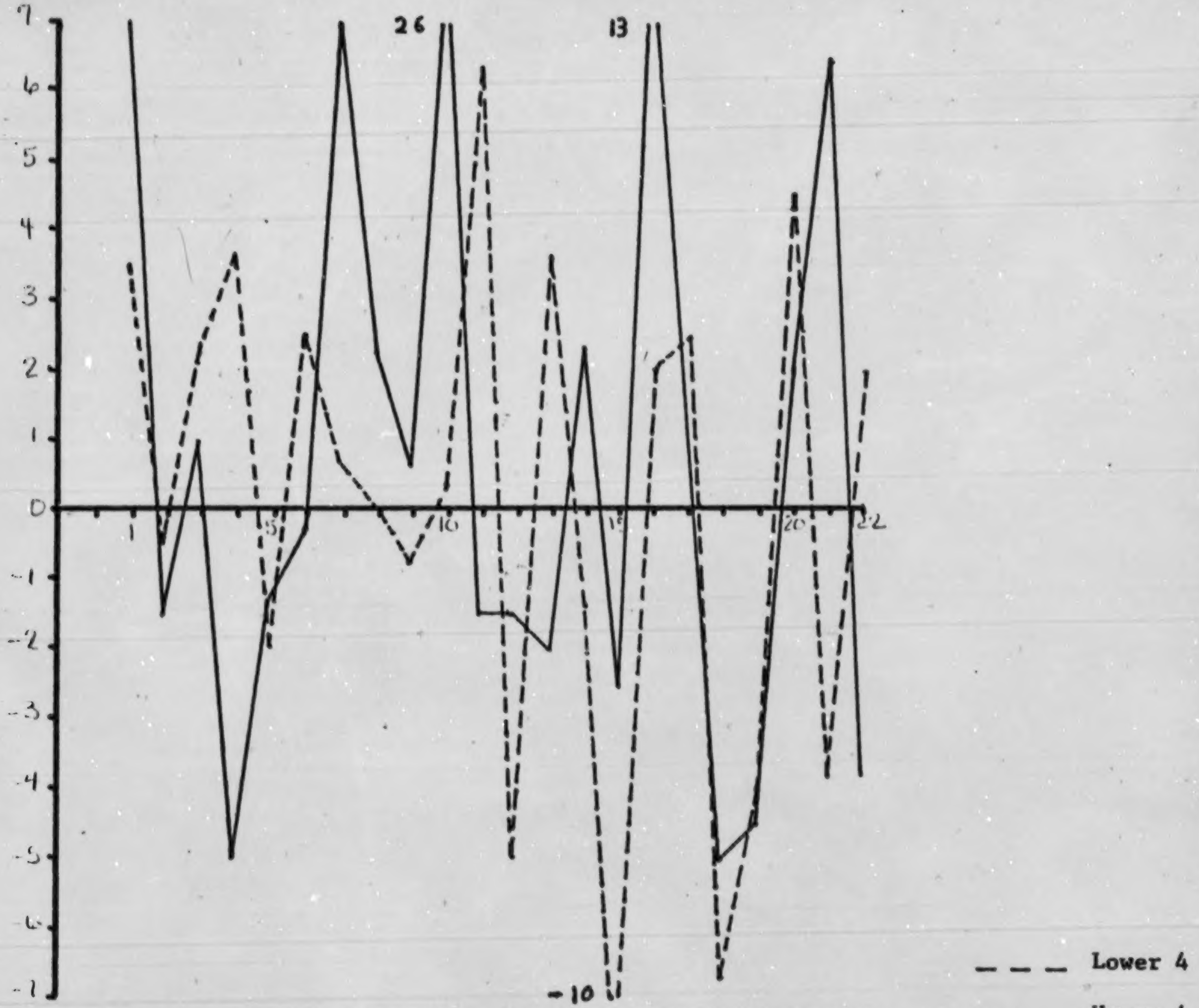
This can be only considered a working solution to the non-random assignment of the raters to campers in relation to the different base lines for the behavior ratings. This solution seeks to partial out differences between raters and to adjust them out. There does, however, remain the possibility that the scores reflect not the behavior minus the individual rater's bias but the variability in the behavior. That is, some individuals may have an overall rating of being a good worker but go up and down a great deal; in such a case, the change score is a measure of that variability rather than a measure of the good work minus the individual rater's bias. Impressionistically, it seems that the change scores were not measures of variability but came closer to representing the behavior, adjusted for, base line differences between raters. Be that as it may, it is a dilemma and this is only proposed as a working solution. Therefore, changes from the final rating were plotted rather than the actual ratings themselves. Those individuals who had the four highest and four lowest scores on alienation were contrasted on the five behavioral dimensions over the 25 days on which those behavior ratings were made. These two groups were plotted over time on their behavior ratings by an individual rater subtracted from which was that rater's final rating. The change scores then sought to represent the individual's rating on that behavior minus the rater's bias.

These adjusted ratings were then plotted over 25 days in an analysis of variance with a repeated measure (the specific behavior rating scale) design over the 25 days. The statistical significance of the differences between the two plots were computed on the 5 behavior rating scales which have been described previously. These analyses were used to determine: 1) if there were differences over time between the two groups and 2) if these differences were related to group mood. The latter finding is more difficult to tease out of the data, and as a result is a less reliable conclusion.

With all the limitations in terms of sample size and the problems with developing behavior ratings adjusted for the individual base line differences of the raters, three out of the five behavioral measures over time for the high and low group on alienation showed statistical differences. The plots of these differences over time for the five behavioral measures and the statistical analysis of the differences between the plots of the high and low alienation youngsters on the behavioral measure over a period of 25 repeated observations for the high and low groups will be presented for each of the behavior rating scales.

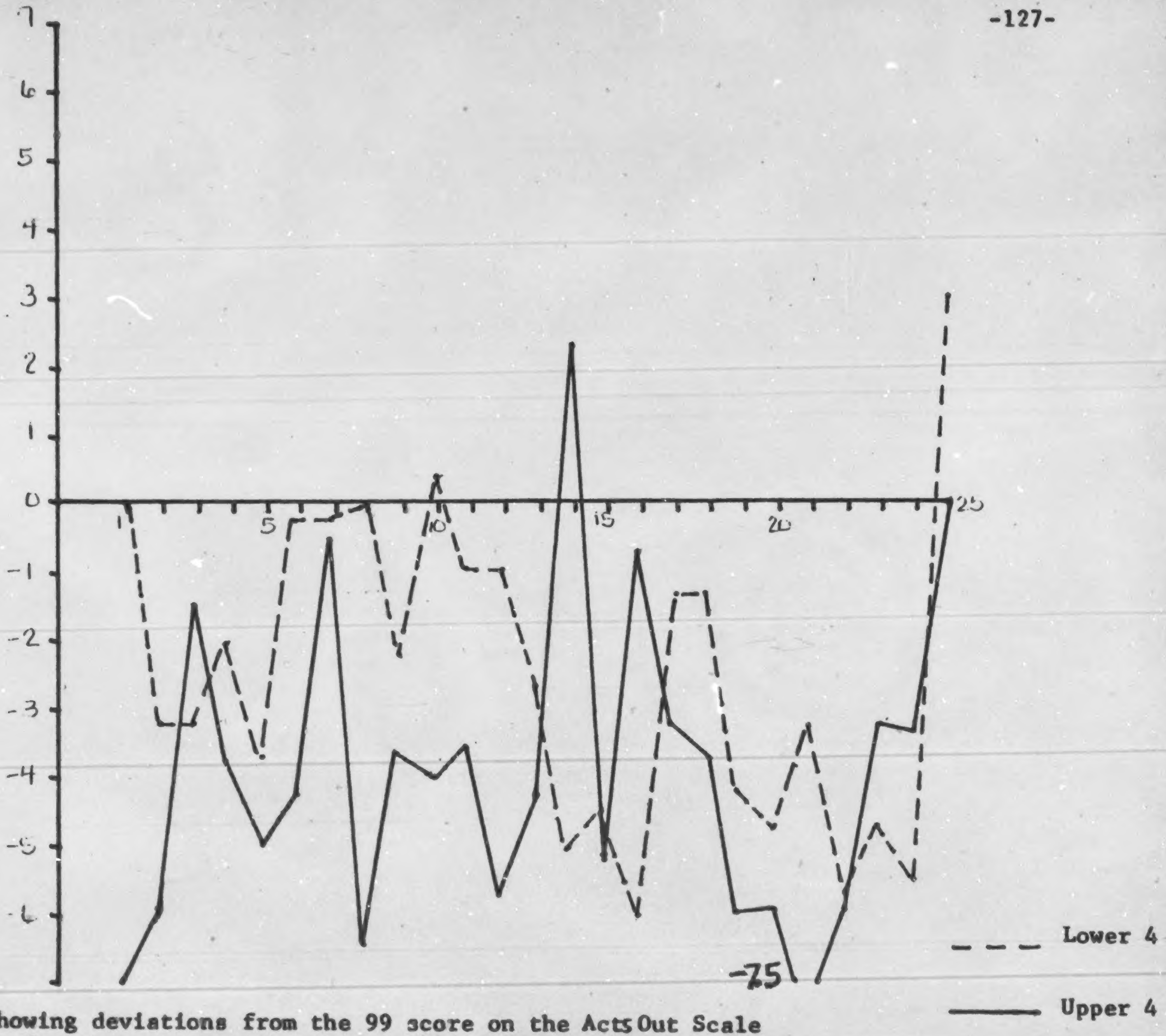
Graph #13 is a plot of the "poor worker" daily behavior rating scale. This scale had the highest reliability with an alpha of .945 and a highly significant intra-class correlation of .73. One first notices that the 99 rating appears to have come closer to being an average rating as over the 22 days. The ratings are about evenly distributed above and below the 99 rating level rating because the campers did not work on all 25 days of the camp. Other ratings daily behavior ratings were only made for 22 days. An analysis of variance with a repeated measure on the poor work variable over 22 days yielded plots that were significantly different at the .211 level. There appear to be differences between the plots but they did not achieve significance. In examining the plot, it is important to recall that this is a measure of being a poor worker; that is, when deviations from the 99 rating are above the line--that is, positive--that means the poor worker rating was less than the usual 99 rating; i.e., being less of a poor worker means being a better worker. Conversely, having a negative rating means that the person was more of a poor worker than he or the group usually was. With this in mind we examine the groups and find that on days 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21 or 13, the group that was higher in alienation was rated as better workers. Conversely on days, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 19, 20, 22 or 9, those who were low on alienation were better workers than those who were high on alienation. In this set of comparisons, the assumption is that the scores are reliable measures of the persons working (with the individual rater bias adjusted out by subtracting the number 99 scores).

In an attempt to relate the data to the group mood, we will examine the number of days in which the groups were working better than they usually did or worse than they usually did; the assumption being that on days when a group was working better than they usually did they would be responding to the group mood and when they worked worse than they usually did, the group mood would be worse. Examining Graph #13 in this light, we find that on 7 days the group high on alienation was working worse than they usually did and also on 7 days the group with lower alienation scores were working worse than usual. The group that was high on alienation worked better on 6 days than they usually did and the group that was low on alienation worked better than they usually did on 2 days. Here we find the high alienation group working slightly better than the low alienation. In conclusion the differences in the high alienation group and low alienation group on the "poor worker" variable plotted over 22 days were not significantly different; the difference between the 2 plots was significant at the .211 level. While it is difficult to ascertain the responsiveness of the group to group moods, it appears that neither the high alienation or low alienation groups were differentially more responsive to good group moods as measured by how well people were working that day; the high alienation group did work better than usual on 6 days in comparison to the low alienation group which worked better on only 2 days. In summary it appears there were no significant differences between the high alienation group and low alienation group on the poor worker variable and that neither group was particularly responsive to the group moods as measured by how poorly or well people were working that day. The following is Graph # 13.



GRAPH # 13 SHOWING DEVIATIONS FROM 99 SCORE ON THE POOR WORKER SCALE OVER 22 DAYS FOR THE UPPER AND LOWER 4 CAMPERS ON THE 1970 VERMONT PRE-CAMP ALIENATION SCALE R-5. PROBABILITY OF THE DIFFERENCES = .211

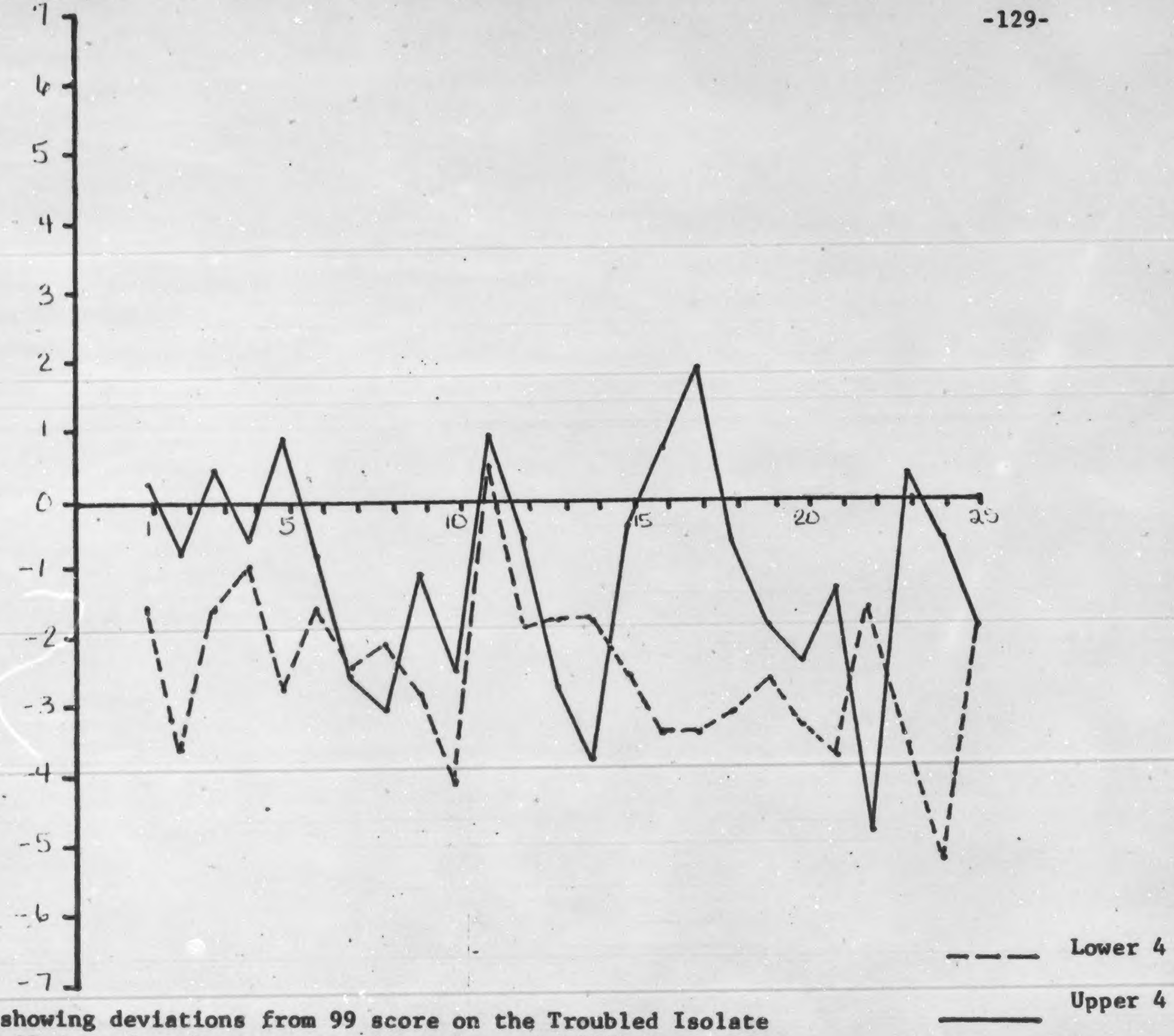
In looking at Graph #14 one sees that there seems to be a greater separation in the plots over the 25 days. The graph plots the "acts out" scale which describes the stereotype of a typical delinquent behavior--aggressive, showing off, pushing people around--type behavior. The difference between these 2 plots on a repeated measure analysis of variance over the 25 days shows that they are significantly different at the .045 level which corroborates the clearly visible distinction between the 2 plots. This scale is a relatively reliable one having an alpha .869 and an intra-class correlation of .44. In looking at the plot, we find that the 99 rating, from which all scores are deviations, was not an average rating. The vast majority of the ratings were greater than the 99 rating. This is indicated by the fact that most of the deviations are minus scales in which the daily rating was smaller than the 99 rating. For some reason, the final rating was much higher than all of the daily ratings. This raises questions about having subtracted the 99 ratings from daily ratings in an effort to separate out rater biases. Whatever the reasons for the 99 ratings being consistently higher, on practically all of the daily ratings, the 2 groups emerge as being distinctly different. The group which was low on alienation on only 5 out of the 25 days did act out quite a bit more. In other words on 20 out of the 25 days, those youngsters who were high on alienation tended to act in a more delinquent fashion such as complaining, ranking others, being aggressive, flaunting masculinity, sarcastic, uncompromising, etc. It appears then that this is the group mood when the group is acting in a delinquent manner as described by the "acts out" scale. Those low in alienation are doing it significantly less than those who are high in alienation. With regard to the research strategy it should be recalled that alienation per se was not related to the "acts out" scale. However, when we plot the both groups over 25 days on this scale, differences do emerge; in other words, alienation appears to be reflected in daily behavior but not in summary ratings. In this case we can conclude that the low alienation youngsters "act out" less and that when things are going badly with the group the low alienation youngsters are contributing disproportionately less to the general delinquent mood. The following is Graph #14.



Graph #14 showing deviations from the 99 score on the Acts Out Scale over 25 days for the upper and lower 4 on the 1970 Vermont Pre-Camp Alienation Scale R-5. Probability of the differences = .045

On Graph #15 we find again that the high and low alienation groups are significantly different when plotted over time. This scale, describing the Troubled Isolate, was a higher level of inference which is reflected in its lower alpha which was equal to .783 and an intra-class correlation of .37 which while significant is lower. The repeated measure analysis of variance over the 25 days yielded differences which were significant at the .016 level. These are the most significant of the differences of the 5 plots. Again we see that the 99 rating does not appear to be an average rating as it was consistently higher than most of the daily ratings for the 8 individuals involved.

Examining the scale, we find that those who were low on alienation on 19 out of the 25 days tended to show less of those behaviors indicating "troubled isolate"; on one day it was a tie. In conclusion it appears that those who are low on alienation tend over a period of time to be less troubled, less in need of help, less childish and less withdrawn. Again the alienation scale was not found to be significantly related to the troubled isolate scale as measured by the 99 ratings. When looked at over a period of time however, clearly there are differences between the high and the low alienation youngsters in terms of the behaviors measured by the troubled isolate scale. It appears that alienation relevant behavior emerges over a period of time and by implication as somewhat of a function of group moods. The following is Graph #15.

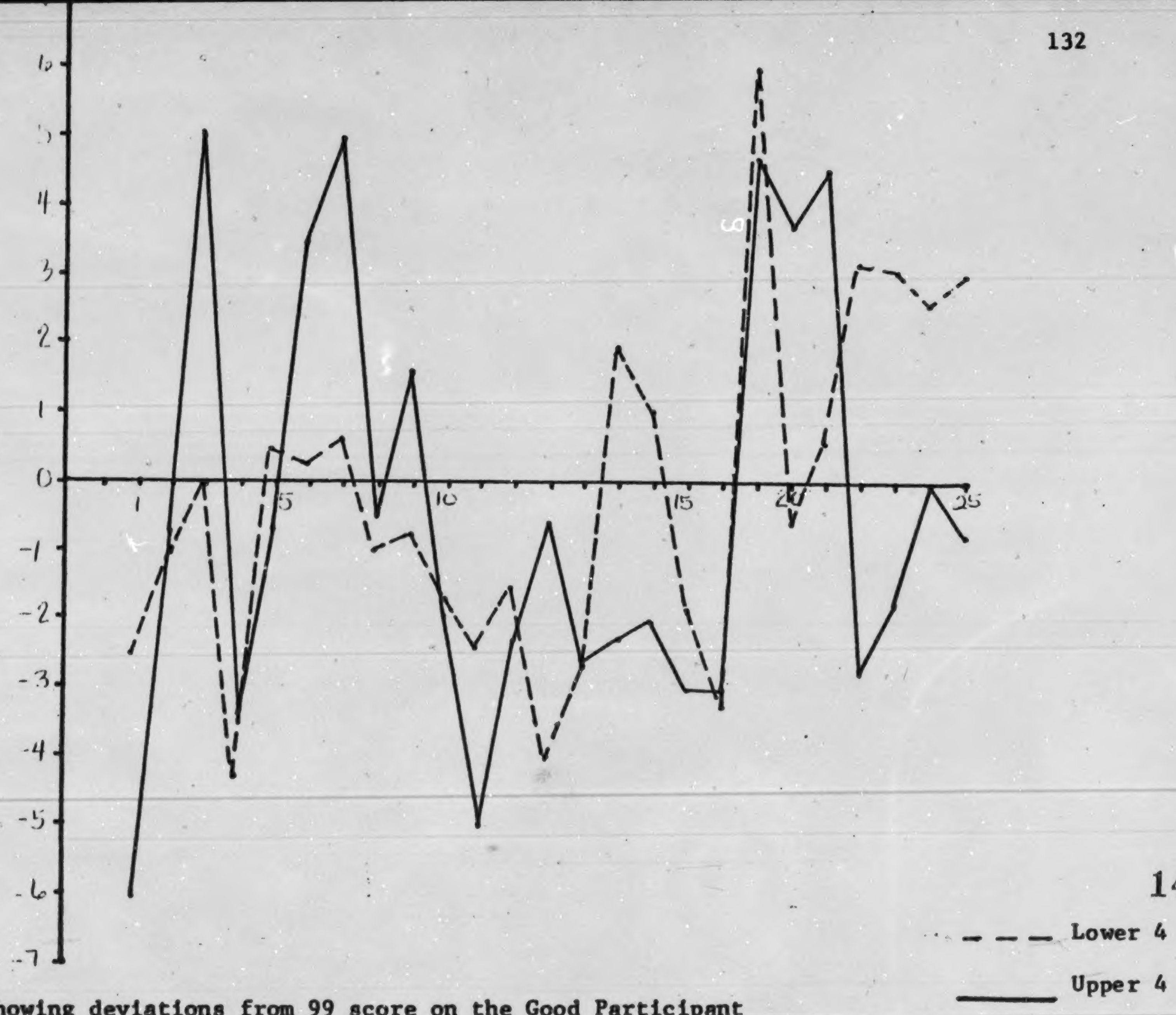


Graph #15 showing deviations from 99 score on the Troubled Isolate Scale over 25 days for the upper and lower 4 on the 1970 Vermont pre-camp alienation scale R-5. Probability of the differences = .016.

Graph #16 the "Good Participant scale," which is adequately reliable (having an alpha of .905 and an intra-class correlation of .45) shows relatively little difference between the high alienation and low alienation group. The groups appear separately; i.e., one day one group is high and the next day, the other group is. In the repeated measure analysis of variance, no significant differences were found with the difference between the plots having a significance level of .50. In examining the graph, we find that on 11 days those who were higher on alienation were worse participants; on 13 out of the 25 days those who were higher on alienation were worse than usual participants; and on one day they were tied. The difference of two groups is not significant.

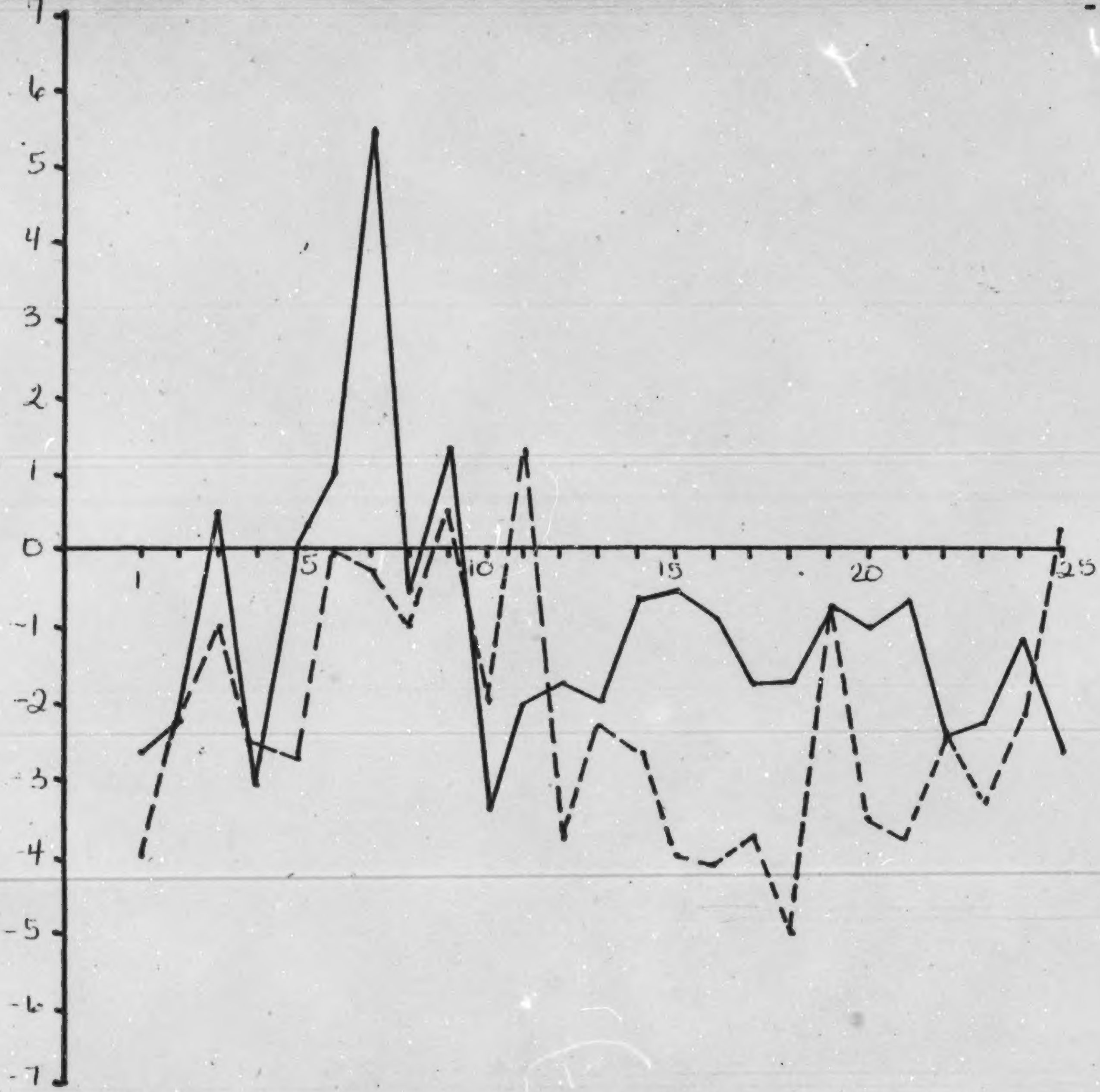
Looking now at days when the group mood was better (that is, when the Good Participants scale was higher than the 99 rating), we find that on 7 out of 25 days the high alienation group was better than usual in terms of being "good participants." The lower alienation youngsters were better participants than they usually were on 11 days. Turning now to those days when the groups were worse participants than they usually were (that is, when the daily rating had subtracted from it a larger 99 rating), we find that the lower alienation group was worse than usual in terms of participation on 12 days, while the high alienation group was worse than usual on 17 days. Here again slight differences in being a worse participant than usual are not significant.

The "good participant" scale is probably the one most relevant to testing the hypothesis of group mood and its differential effect on the high and low alienation in the plotting of the high and low group over the 25 days on the good participant dimension. No significant differences were found in the overall plots. There was only a slight and not significantly greater number of days on which those lower on alienation were better participants than those who were higher on alienation. In summary the Good Participant daily behavior ratings show no significant differences between those high on alienation and low on alienation as measured over the 25 days. The following is Graph #16.



Graph #16 showing deviations from 99 score on the Good Participant Scale over 25 days for the upper and lower 4 on the 1970 Vermont pre-camp alienation scale R-5. Probability of the differences = .50

In examining Graph #17, the Communicative Scale, we find that the plots are different. This differences, when measured by the repeated measure analysis of variance, over the 25 days is significant at the .035 level. The scale has the poorest reliability of the scales, having an alpha of .617 and an intra-class correlation of .27; this yielded on F value of 2.85 which is significant but low. Again the 99 rating which were used to adjust daily ratings appears not to have been an average with the majority of the daily behavior ratings showing less communications than the 99 rating; in other words at the end of camp youngsters were seen as more communicative than they were seen on a day by day basis which may indicate some halo effect. The significance between the two plots is apparent in examining the differences over the 25 days. On 19 out of the 25 days, those high on alienation were regarded as more communicative; that is, they tended to talk more of the city, family, friends, and were friendly and talkative. On only two out of the 25 days were those low on alienation regarded as more communicative. On 4 days the two groups had identical scores on communicativeness. In terms of communicativeness as defined by these items, one can conclude that those youngsters high on alienation were fairly consistently more communicative over the 25 days with the difference between the plots being significant at the .035 level. Again as in 3 out of the 5 scales, examinations of daily behavior ratings over the period of camp, we find that the two groups are significantly different and that this difference emerged only in plotting over time rather than in final summary ratings such as the 99 ratings which were generally not found to be correlated with alienation. The following is Graph #17.



148

149

- - - Lower 4

——— Upper 4

Graph #17 showing deviations from 99 score on the Communicative Scale over 25 days for the upper and lower 4 on the 1970 Vermont pre-camp alienation scale R-5. Probability of the differences = .035.

In examining the five plots on the behavior ratings over this period of time, we find that the high and the low alienation youngsters did not appear to differ over time on the dimension of being a Poor Worker or of being a Good Participant. In both cases the differences between the groups were not significant. However, in the three remaining scales we find that those low on alienation acted out less, that is, showed less delinquent behavior than those high on alienation. Those low on alienation tended also to be rated as less troubled and less isolated. Finally those high on alienation were found, in comparison to those low on alienation, to be more communicative.

In all cases the pre-camp alienation scores (R 5) were correlated with the final behavior ratings by the different staff. By in large, a significant correlation was not found between the final ratings and those of the alienation score; in other words, the overall rating made at one point in time (the 99 rating) was not found to be correlated with alienation. However, when looked upon over a period of time, alienation does appear to differentiate the groups in three out of the five daily behavior ratings. The top four and the lower four in alienation were significantly different rated over time.

While it was difficult to relate these findings to group mood, the important point is that alienation seems to be related to behavior in a social context, and over a period of time and not in this case related to one time overall behavior ratings. The fact that such small samples were used, severely curtailing the statistical power of the analysis of variance, only strengthens this finding. The finding is important in terms of identifying the relationship of alienation to behavior. It also emphasizes the large importance of relating attitude measures and personality measurement over a period of time and in different social contexts.

In short the data did not lend itself to an adequate testing of the hypothesis that those high on alienation and low on alienation appear significantly different. As a function of group mood, the correlates of alienation, in terms of predicting behavior, must be looked at over a period of time and in different social contexts rather than by being correlated to one time measures. More work should be done on determining the correlates of attitude measures in different social contexts over extended periods of time. This study can only be regarded as a preliminary exploration of these relationships.

III The Testing of Some Hypotheses Relevant to: "PERSONALITY AND MILIEU: A THEORY OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE" (Durkin, 1972)

The Sage Hill Camp and Follow-up Program is largely based on a social influence theory of personality, "Personality and Milieu: A Theory of Social Influence" (Durkin, 1972).

In evaluation of the camp program, specific hypotheses were tested that are relevant to the theory of social influence. This theory is described in detail in Appendix G.

One assumption of the camp program described in detail in Appendix A, is that poverty-relevant attitudes, behaviors and motivations, etc., are in large part group anchored. They are not developed at an early age but are more of an ongoing response to social milieux. To change these attitudes, the program sought to create a new group in the summer camp and then to maintain that peer group during the year in order to insulate campers from the poverty-perpetuating influences of the poverty milieu.

The theory of social influence is the theoretical underpinning of many aspects of the program. For example, one goal of the follow-up program is to insulate youngsters from poverty perpetuating influences. The theory of social influence dictates that one does not take ten youngsters to a movie, where there is little social interaction, but instead chooses activities such as bowling and the use of only two bowling lanes so that only two people can bowl while the other eight talk. Similarly, the program is designed to obtain and maintain peer group support for changing poverty-relevant attitudes, motivations and behaviors, etc.

From a theoretical point of view, the summer camp can be regarded in a broader sense as a transfer experiment. Specifically, it sought to identify and measure poverty-relevant attitudes, motivations, interpersonal skills and personality traits, which might be regarded as an adaptation to a poverty environment or milieu. Personality has been consistently defined as a relatively stable constellation of personality traits and characteristics. While the number of these traits may vary, their relatively enduring nature is the essence of most definitions of personality. As a transfer experiment, this research has sought to partial out that component of the stability of personality which results from people adapting to relatively similar social milieux throughout their lives. Theoretically, this component of the stability of personality has not yet been partialed out in those ontogenetic theories of personality which stress the importance and enduring nature of early experience.

In fact, personality is indeed relatively stable over time. However, the unanswered question is the nature and extent of the stability caused by an ongoing adaptation to such similar social milieux. Four types of evidence are particularly relevant in the attempt to partial out, both theoretically and empirically, this component of stability of personality. Evidence can be drawn from the following areas of research:

1) In social psychology numerous experiments have shown that a variety of aspects of personality can be influenced in the immediate situation. Asch (1951) demonstrated that many people's perceptions can be altered through pressure to conformity. Milgram (1965) found that when people are enmeshed in a system of authority, they can be coerced into performing acts which they otherwise would refuse to do. Douvan (1965) found that need-achievement motivation varied according to the prospects for reinforcement. Schachter (1962) found that when the individual is physiologically aroused, the emotions expressed are dependent on the cognitive structuring of the situation. This is just a small sample of the findings in social psychology that can be regarded as evidence demonstrating that people's motivations, attitudes, behavior, perceptions and ways of relating to one another, i.e., their personalities, are alterable by current social influences.

Extrapolating from such evidence to a theory of ongoing adaptation is hazardous, because of the possible effects of artifacts of the experimental situation, or biases in the samples of subjects, etc. However, such evidence may suggest that people's attitudes, motivations, perceptions, interpersonal skills, etc., are influenced by present, ongoing situations.

2) The stimulus deprivation experiments described by Herron and others (1953) suggest again that individuals are continually adapting to their environment. When deprived of stimulus inputs, subjects tend to experience visual and auditory hallucinations, and their perceptual skills tend to deteriorate quickly. Clearly, the

individual interacting in his environment is continually receiving feedback regarding the accuracy of his perceptions, and without this feedback, marked disruption can occur in what might otherwise be considered relatively enduring perceptual skills, such as the ability to judge the third dimension. In short, it can be argued that stimulus nutriment is necessary for the maintenance of the processing of incoming stimuli, which again suggests that this component of personality, i.e., perceptual skills at least, is contingent upon an ongoing adaptation to stimuli in the environment.

3) Studies of the total institutions, such as those of prisoner of war camps (Bettleheim, 1943, and Schein, 1956) suggest that marked changes in the personalities of adults can be induced by what Goffman (1961) describes as total institutions. The adult socialization they observed has also been noted to occur in military academies (Dornbush, 1955), and in prisons, as described by Sykes (1958). Goffman, in his work on large custodial mental hospitals, describes the mortification of patients and even suggests that what is commonly considered a profoundly interpsychic phenomenon, mainly chronic schizophrenia, may, in fact, be an iatrogenic illness resulting from adaptation to the custodial hospital's milieu. As the profound impact of these environments on personality has been recognized as occurring mostly in these more negative settings, attempts have been made to marshal the field of social forces to create a therapeutic milieu. Such efforts have been described by

Bettelheim and Sylvester (1949) in the treatment of autistic children and by Empey and Rabow (1964) in the treatment of delinquents. Such adult socialization to total institutions suggests that personality is more influenced by the ongoing situation than the more ontogenetic theories would suggest.

4) Extrapolation from social psychology experiments to a theory of ongoing adaptation can be criticized on the basis that the behavior or attitudes influenced were neither salient nor functionally important to more "core personality." Evidence of changes in psychopathology, however, would be considered salient to "core personality." Favoring the argument for a theory of ongoing adaptation, Volpe (1969) and others have discovered a profound influence on "pathology." Their manipulation of present reinforcement causes the remission of symptoms, suggesting that an important aspect of the maintenance of such pathology lies in the immediate environment and its reinforcement. In a similar vein, the studies of family therapy which have been reviewed by Mishler (1965), suggest that individual pathology is, in fact, part and parcel of a network of family relations. Laing, in his book Sanity, Madness & The Family (1965), further demonstrates that "thought disorders" directly reflect the perceptions of other members of the family. This category of evidence suggests that even such salient behavior as psychopathology is constantly being influenced to some degree by the social milieu.

In spite of all the evidence that social influence can indeed change behavior and attitudes, a theory of ongoing adaptation should not suggest that people are simply Funny Putty, always being molded by the current forces in the environment. Theoretical and empirical research needs to be conducted to identify and measure that component of the stability of personality which is attributable to our ongoing responses to the influence and opportunities in the environment. Rappaport (1951) sums up this position in his paper on the relative autonomy of the ego. He suggests that the individual is neither solipsistic nor stimulus-bound, but that his ego is relatively autonomous, of both his intra-psychic forces and his environment.

The research which has been conducted on the Sage Hill camp program and on a broader sample of general poverty teenagers, represents an attempt to examine the nature and extent of the ongoing adaptation of the individual to the environment and its implications for personality theory. Two of the hypotheses tested are most relevant and central to the theory of social influence; these will be described in greater detail but for purposes of continuity will be mentioned briefly here. The first hypothesis concerns changes in alienation and self control as a result of the summer camp experience. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the control period, particularly in the summers of '67 and '68 in Vermont, would be a disorganizing experience; the boys would feel greater alienation and less self control; these trends would be reversed in the experimental period; and, as a result, individuals would become less alienated and develop greater self control.

These hypotheses were clearly confirmed for the summer camp sessions in Colorado '67 and in Vermont '68 and in addition, were partially confirmed for the summer camp session in Colorado '68, Vermont '69 and Vermont '70. This finding lends support to the idea that alienation and to a lesser degree, self control (as measured by Cattall's Q3 factor on the H.S.P.Q.) are amenable to ongoing social influence; this finding has great significance for residential treatment programs.

The second set of hypotheses, described in the section on process measures, sought to determine over a period of time the differences of those youngsters who were high on alienation and low on alienation. In previous research alienation was not found to be related to behavior. It was hypothesized that when looked at over a period of time, those youngsters who were high in alienation would emerge as different when things were going well in the camp. When things were going poorly, both the high and low alienation campers would be relatively unfriendly and uncooperative. However, when the group mood changed for the better the highly alienated youngsters would not change and become more positive as would the less alienated youngsters. It was further hypothesized that the more alienated youngsters would be more peer group oriented, whereas the less alienated youngsters would be more adult oriented. These hypotheses were partially confirmed and will be discussed in detail

In addition, several other hypotheses were tested regarding the role of social influence and the social anchoring of personality characteristics, attitudes and motivation. It should be noted that it is extremely difficult to conceptualize and test hypotheses relevant to the theory of social influence, particularly in a correlational study with all its limitations vis-a-vis delineating a cause and effect relationship. The hypotheses tested can best be regarded as attempts to explore the extent to which people mutually influence one another and/or self-select themselves towards others who have similar attitudes, personality charcteristics, etc. The following hypotheses were tested:

1. It was hypothesized that parents' attitudes, as measured by the six raw scales on the TOS, would be similar to their children's.

2. It was hypothesized that the parent's evaluation of the children on a semantic differential scale would be similar to the child's evaluation of himself. In other words, the child's self-esteem would be similar to the parent's view of him. It was further hypothesized that where the parent had negative evaluation of the child, the child would show high psychiatric impairment as rated by the staff.

3. It was hypothesized that friends of the campers would show similar attitudes, again as measured by the 6 raw scales of TOS.

4. It was hypothesized that for the summer camp sessions of Colorado '67 and Vermont '68 combined, as well as in the Vermont '70 session, individuals who chose to tent with each other would show similar attitudes and personality traits as measured by the TOS and the HSPQ. It was further hypothesized that the strength of the correlation between the individual and his sociometric choices would increase from the beginning to the end of camp. In other words, as they knew each other better the correlations would increase in magnitude.

5. It was hypothesized that staff whom campers in '70 chose to work with would be rated by the staff more positively. In other words, campers tended to choose to work with staff who rated them positively.

An important aspect of the theory of social influence is the individual's amenability to the influence of others. While social influences may prevail, if the individual is well defended against them or unaware of them, they may have little effect on his personality or behavior. In system terminology, if his boundaries are relatively impermeable, he may be relatively solipsistic vis-a-vis social influence. Some defense mechanisms that would be relevant to filtering out social influence would include selective inattention, denial, rationalization, self-selection away from social influence that threaten the status quo and self-selection toward desired influences. Again, testing hypotheses relevant to the individual's defense mechanisms is difficult, but, because of their importance to the theory of social influence, this was undertaken.

The following are the hypotheses regarding the individual's amenability to social influence:

1. It was hypothesized that those individuals who were sociometric "rejects" or low on sociometric status would tend to be less accurate in their interpersonal perceptions.

2. It was hypothesized that inaccurate interpersonal perception would be correlated with psychiatric impairment. Those who tended to be inaccurate in their interpersonal perception, be it cause or effect, would tend to be high in psychiatric impairment.

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE CORRELATES OF ALIENATION

Given the importance of alienation, both in the literature and in previous findings in the camp study, an exploratory study was undertaken to determine the correlates of alienation. In research over the years, a wide variety of data had been collected with regard to sociometric status, ability to work, daily behavior ratings and responses to the California Personality Inventory, The Expectancies About Aggression Scale, and the High School Personality Questionnaire, etc. The results of correlational studies of these various behavioral, attitudinal and personality characteristics with alienation are reported in the following sections.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE EFFECT OF CAMP ON ALIENATION AND SELF CONTROL FOR THE THEORY OF PERSONALITY AND MILIEU: A THEORY OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE

In the Colorado '67 camp the control group was found to increase in alienation and to decrease in self control as measured by Cattell's H.S.P.Q. factor Q3. These trends were reversed with the campers becoming more self controlled and less alienated than at the start of the camp period. These differences were significant. These findings were replicated with another group of youngsters 2,000 miles away and in a different year. In this replication youngsters from New York going to Vermont were again found to become more alienated during the control period; that trend was reversed and they become slightly less alienated as a result of the camp experience. With regard to self control, a similar trend prevailed but the differences in self control were not significant for this group as they were for alienation in the Vermont group and for self control in the Colorado group.

That these findings did not replicate in the studies of Colorado '68 and Vermont '69 and '70 may well be because of the lack of a randomly assigned control group. In these replications each individual acted as his own control and the control period consisted of about five weeks while the youngster was still in school or just out of school and about to come to camp. Unlike the Colorado '67 and Vermont '68 the control group period did not include randomly assigned subjects who were waiting during the same period as the camp in July was occurring. The lack of randomly assigned control group of subjects who were experiencing being out of school and at loose ends for this month may explain why the findings did not replicate.

The two earlier camps in a sense are an important test of the theory of social influence in the sense that they are a transfer experiment; i.e., they compare differences in alienation and self-control in individuals in quite two different milieux--at home on the streets and in a structured, organized and fun summer camp experience. It may well be that the control group has a negative effect on alienation and self control because it is a time of disorganization and negative experience. Bad as the schools are for many ghetto youngsters they do provide at least a modicum of structure for the youngsters. When out of school these youngsters may spend more time with their parents who often express more negative attitudes toward these difficult and in many cases delinquent older adolescents for a greater period of time. Youngsters waiting on the streets may similarly be confronted with the frustrations of hopes for and anticipations of an exciting, fun and interesting summer. In short, the social psychology of being out of school with little to do may affect one's attitude and personality characteristics. That such a negative experience tends to heighten one's alienation is readily understood as a result of being "at loose ends" and with little to do. Consequently, it is no wonder that youngsters tend to become more cynical about their fellow man and more pessimistic about their ability through work and planning for the future to make their lives more fulfilling. Similarly, there is little wonder that the camp (where meaningful work is provided one has a greater degree of control over one's fate and where social relations are more satisfying) tends to reduce the previously increased alienation and also to lessen it.

In the case of self control the role of the current social milieaux seems less clear. In more ontogenetic theories of personality, self control or super ego is assumed to be determined at an earlier age. In the case of Freudian theory, it is assumed to be laid down with the child resolves the Oedipus complex by identifying with the father. If the findings of reduced self control during the control period and a slight increase in the experimental period (a significant finding in Colorado and a similar trend but not quite significant in Vermont '68) is a reliable one and one which can be replicated (it was not replicated in the research reported here for Colorado '68 and Vermont '69 and '70), it has important implications for the theory of social influence and for residential treatment. Catell's HSPQ's Q3 factor (social control) has been shown to be relevant to juvenile delinquency, with juvenile delinquents being low on social control. If contrary to psychoanalytic and ontogentic theories of personality one's internal control waxes and wanes in relationship to external controls, this suggests that personality in general and self control in particular may be more amenable to change as a result of social influence. Specifically, the nature and extent of external controls bear on and affect internal controls. Enhancing internal controls is one of the goals of many treatment programs. For those who treat delinquents particularly the process by which the locus of self control is transferred from the external environment to the internal is a little understood process but is of considerable significance. For this reason alone further exploration of the relationship between social control and mileaux is deserved.

In the paper in Appendix A "A model for a summer camp and follow up program," there is a section devoted to ways in which the camp sought to foster internalization of its values. Briefly, internalization was enhanced by having youngsters developing a reenforcement history which reflects the camp's rewards; i.e., for self-control, participation in decision-making, and for having good staff models to identify with. In summary the relationship between attitudes and personality characteristics and mileaux has been explored in a preliminary way in this research but the topic deserves further exploration considering its implication for residential treatment programs. The details of the analysis of this data were presented in Section I.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF MOTHER AND SONS ATTITUDES

Much of the research has sought to identify similarities in attitudes and personality characteristics of people mutually involved as in the case of the sociometric choices, friends and relatives. It is assumed that such close relationships are mutually influential and are likely both to cause a similarity of attitudes and to be found between people who share similar attitudes or personality characteristics. A study was undertaken to determine if attitude similarities occurred between mothers' and sons' attitudes as expressed on the Teenagers' Opinion Survey scales. A sample of 23 mothers filled out the TOS and their scores were determined on five of the six TOS raw scales. These scales were attitudes about work, personal responsibility, group effectiveness, alienation and the semantic differential "I am" scale.

In this study it would clearly be difficult to establish cause and effect in any found similarities of attitudes.

It should be noted that the sample of 23 mothers who rated their sons and completed the TOS is obviously a biased sample of the mothers of boys who attended camp, which was in turn biased in terms of its representitiveness of the larger population of mothers and children. Additional data was collected from friends, fathers and relatives but was not used in the study because of an insufficient number of subjects for statistical tests of correlational relationships. Therefore, this selected group of mothers, who probably can be considered more involved with their children, concerned about them and willing to participate in camp program, including the research, was examined to determine any similarities between their attitudes and their son's.

No significant relationships were found. The following correlation coefficient represents the relationship of the mothers' expressed attitudes on the scale with those of their sons. The correlations are as follows: attitudes about work, r=.056; personal responsibility, r=.026; group effectiveness, r=.125; alienation, r=.255; and "I am" scale =.028.

An interesting relationship that did emerge from the data was a significant correlation of r=.798 between the mother's rating of herself and her rating of her son. Apparently, the mother is likely to regard her child as she regards herself. There is a possibility that this is an artifact of a response set to the semantic differential scales which were administered one after another. However, if this data is to be accepted on face validity, it appears that the way the mother feels about herself is similar to how she feels about her son.

The mother's evaluation of her son was related to alienation: where the mother felt positively about her son, she tended to be alienated. The correlation is r=.574. The self esteem correlation in the case of the boys was insignificant and negative. For these sons, self-esteem was negatively correlated, r=-.080, with alienation. One, and only one of the many possible interpretations is that when the mother holds a negative and cynical view of life, she compensates by seeing her son as a more worthwhile person. She thus makes her inner, more intimate life worthwhile, while having a negative view of the outside world, i.e., she sees her son as a good person in an evil world. Most of the mothers were mothers on welfare and they may well, as they should, be a group who resist negative self-evaluations resulting from being on welfare, etc.

Interestingly, both the mothers and the child's positive self-esteem and their preceived view of adults--i.e., "Adults think I am" ,- was related to positive attitudes about work. Specifically boys' "Adults think I am" scores were correlated r=.637 with attitudes about work. The self-evaluation "I Am" scale was correlated r=.525 with work. The mother's self-evaluation scale was correlated significantly r=.461 with expressed positive attitudes about work. A final correlation was found between the boys' view of adults -- i.e., the "Adults think I am" scale and the "I am" scale. The correlation was .456.

In summary, it was found that the mothers' attitudes about herself and her children were significantly, and positively correlated. In addition, her attitudes about herself were positively correlated with high scores on alienation: by contrast, an insignificant but negative correlation was found between the child's self-esteem and alienation. For both children and adults, attitudes about one's self and in the case of children, the perceived attitudes of adults about one's self, were positively correlated with positive attitudes about work, although to a lesser extent in the case of the mothers.

To explain the data, it would appear that the mothers' self-esteem and her views of her son were related. However, the children in these cases adolescents, do not share the mother's attitudes about themselves and, for whatever the influences that affect their self-esteem, they seem little related to the expressed views of the mothers. For both mothers and children, strong relationships were found between self-esteem and the perceived view of adults with alienation and attitudes about work. One final note of caution in generalizing from this sample of mothers and sons is that they may have had a stronger relationship than other samples of mothers and sons, and thus a greater similarity of attitudes. This sample is, compared to sons who could not get their mothers to fill out the TOS, composed of ones who had a stronger relationship with their mothers.

PSYCHIATRIC IMPAIRMENT AND THE MOTHERS' EVALUATION OF THEIR SONS

In 1967, 1968 and 1969, 23 mothers of children who came to the various summer camps rated their children on the semantic differential scale identical to the one used for the TOS. Each mother rated hers on a scale entitled "The Boy Who Went To Camp." She also rated herself on the "I Am" scale. These scales and the son's rating of himself were then correlated with staff ratings of the psychiatric impairment of the child.

Hypothesis 1: It was hypothesized that the discrepancy between the mother's rating of the child and the child's rating would be positively correlated with psychiatric impairment. In other words, when the son saw himself as different from his mother's evaluation of him, irrespective of the direction of the difference from this mother's evaluation, he would have a higher rating on psychiatric impairment. It was reasoned that inaccurate interpersonal perception is both a cause and effect of psychiatric impairment.

This hypothesis can be rejected. The correlation of the discrepancy score, irrespective of the direction of the discrepancy--that is, whether the son's score is higher or lower than the mother's score-was found to be correlated -.06 with ratings of psychiatric impairment. However, when the direction of the discrepancy was taken into account, it was found that the more the child overestimated himself in comparison to his mother's estimation, the higher the staff's rating of psychiatric impairment of the child. The lower the child's rating of himself in comparison to the mother's rating, the less the staff's rating of the psychiatric impairment of the child.

In other words, the child's score was subtracted from the mother's rating. When the child scored higher than the mother, it yielded a negative score. When the child scored lower than the mother's score, it yielded a positive score. This algebraic scale, ranging from -.16 to .19 was then correlated for 21 subjects with staff ratings of psychiatric impairment, yielding a negative correlation of -.50. This is significant at the 5% level of significance with a two-tailed level test of significance. The significant correlation with the sample size is .43.

Of interest in interpreting this finding is the fact that in the original computation, there was confusion about the direction of the relationship. The correlation was found to be significant and it was reasoned that those children who see themselves in a less positive light than their mothers would be psychiatrically impaired, i.e., a poor self-concept would result in a lower staff rating and would be a cause and/or effect of psychiatric impairment. Plausible as this interpretation appeared, it was subsequently found that the direction of the correlation was the reverse; namely, the greater the child's estimation of himself, the higher the rating of psychiatric impairment by staff.

An equally plausible, psychodynamic interpretation of this finding is that the self-esteem measure is in fact a measure of grandiosity. Thus, the fact that more impaired children rated themselves more positively than did their mothers would be explained as part of their symptomatology and perhaps as an attempt to bolster their faltering self-esteem and to defend themselves from their mothers negative evaluation. Either of these hypotheses is plausible, illustrating one of the problems of psychodynamic theory, in which aggression, for example, may be proved by it conspicuous absence, or equally plausible, by its presence.

The interpretation of this finding is supported by the finding that campers' self-esteem was lower than their friends, i.e., they were less grandiose. Unfortunately, no impairment ratings are available on the friends of campers.

As with all correlational studies, the interpretation of cause and effect is difficult. Another interpretation of the finding would be that the children are rating themselves accurately but the mothers' negative views of them has resulted in higher psychiatric impairment for these boys. Some relevant evidence is that the ratings of psychiatric impairment by staff, when correlated with the mother's rating of the children (not the discrepancy between mother and son scores) yields a correlation of .50; this is significant beyond the 5% level, with a significant correlation of .396 for a sample of 23.

In summary, there is a significant relationship between psychiatric impairment and both the mother's evaluation of the son and the discrepancy between the mother and son's evaluation and psychiatric impairment. While the plausible interpretations of these findings are almost limitless, it can safely be concluded that it is important to use the two tailed test of significance in similar exploratory studies.

For a sample of 41 subjects from the Vermont '68 session and the Colorado '67 session, staff ratings of psychiatric impairment were correlated -.154 with the campers' pre-test self-evaluations. On the post-test, psychiatric impairment ratings correlated with the campers' self-evaluations -.195. Neither correlations were significant but high psychiatric impairment was negatively correlated with self-evaluation. The same negative direction for the correlation occurs between the adult's view scale as filled out by the subject's ratings of adults and his psychiatric impairment. On the pre-test, psychiatric impairment was correlated with the adults' view -.203; on the post-test, -.222.

In the total sample of 987 TOSs, the subjects' "I Am" scale and the "Adults Think I Am" scales were found to be significantly correlated with r=.640. In summarizing the relationships between the mother's rating of the child and the child's self evaluation and the assessment of the child's psychiatric impairment, we may conclude that there is a significant relationship between psychiatric impairment and the mother's evaluations and the mother's evaluations relevant to her sons. Considering the salience of the relationship between mothers and sons, this is not surprising. Interpreting the finding is more difficult as because of the ways in which self-esteem can function for the individual's psychodynamics, and the lack of clarity of what the "I Am" scale is measuring, e.g. perhaps it is a measure of grandiosity.

THE RELATIONSHIPS OF CAMPERS AND THEIR FRIENDS' ATTITUDES AS MEASURED BY THE TEENAGERS OPINION SURVEY (TOS)

In the Fall and Winter of 1968, campers were asked to bring in their friends, who would be paid $1.50, to fill out the TOS. Campers and their friends came from various areas in Harlem to Columbia University where the questionnaires were filled out under the supervision of the project director. It was assumed that campers would tend to bring relatively good friends or at least people fairly well known to them because of the time involved in getting to the university, as well as the apprehensiveness with which many youngsters view questionnaires, etc. On the basis of impressions, it appears that this in fact varied. For example, campers were being paid for each friend that they brought in and some campers brought in large numbers of youngsters who appeared to be less than good friends. These particular campers appear to have been leaders, were outgoing and relatively more extroverted. Some of the campers on the other hand brought relatively few friends and seemed to be more shy, withdrawn, and less popular. If this phenomenon did in fact occur, it would tend to lessen the relationship between the expressed attitudes of the camper and his "friends."

For the purposes of analysis, all of the friends' scores on the 6 raw scores, or the non-change factors, of the TOS were averaged; the means of each group of friends on the 6 scale scores

In summary, no significant relationships were found between the attitudes of the friends and the campers who brought them. The chances of finding such a relationship were limited by the relatively small sample size of 16 campers. In addition, the group described as campers' "friends" included a wide range of relationships. Had campers been instructed to bring their five best friends, the similarity of attitudes might have been greater. However, relatively little similarity was found in sociometric choices in the camp program itself. It is therefore likely that any relationship between attitudes of friends as expressed on opinion surveys is weak at best. The determinants of friendships are many and varied and on the basis of this data, one can only conclude that similarity of attitudes was not a factor in campers' selection of people whom they brought to fill out the questionnaire.

SOCIOMETRIC CHOICE AND SIMILARITY OF ATTITUDES AND PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

In 1967 in Colorado two five week summer sessions were run In 1968 two summer sessions were run in Vermont with essentially different groups of youngsters. Most of these youngsters had not known one another prior to coming to camp. Six campers from 1966 returned to the 1967 Colorado camp but were deleted from the study as subjects because it was felt that they were likely to be chosen on the basis of previous acquaintance. The study sought to determine whether there was a similarity in attitudes and personality characteristics of sociometric choices. At the end of camp, sociometric structure was again determined and a correlational study was done of the individual's sociometric choices, personality characteristics and attitudes.

The sociometric choices were determined in the course of individual interviews; the camper was asked in confidence who he would like to tent with, work with or go on a trip with. The first interview was conducted after one week of camp and the last interview was conducted at the end of camp. It was hypothesized that there would be a greater shift in sociometric choices toward similarity of attitudes and personality characteristics as people got to know one another. Newcomb (1961) had found this to be the case in The Acquaintance Process.

The two instruments used in this study were the raw scores (that is, the six factors) of the Teenagers Opinion Survey and the fourteen personality characteristics as measured by Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire. The subject's own score on the six attitude scales and the fourteen personality characteristics were then correlated with his first choice for someone to tent with, his second choice for someone to tent with and the last person he would be willing to tent with. Only tenting was included in this study because that seemed most appropriate as a measure of friendship in contrast to sociometric choice for work and for a trip which entail some specific desirable attributes. The pretest scores on the TOS and HSPQ of the subject and his sociometric choices at the end of the first week were correlated. Both tests, TOS and HSPQ, were used for correlations with the subject's own scores on the variables and the posttests. Because the study sought to assess change, the post tests were used for the post sociometric. Assuming that as campers got to know one another, they would select friends more on the basis of similarities in attitudes and personality traits and also that these choices mutually influence one another, change might occur as a result of the camp and contact with a friend or tent mate. Consequently, the post tests were used for determining the correlation between attitudes and personality characteristics of those who were chosen as highly desirable to tent with and as least desirable to tent with. The following is a summary of correlations between the subject's own attitudes on the Teenagers Opinion Survey (6 factor non-change version), the HSPQ and those of his sociometric choices and rejects.

It was hypothesized that in the beginning of camp, compared to at the end of the camp, there would be a lesser relationship between attitudes, as measured by the TOS, and personality characteristics, as measured by the HSPQ. It was felt that as individuals got to know one another and sorted themselves out that there would be a greater congruity between their attitudes and personality characteristics. The hypothesis tested was only that the relationships would become stronger and prediction in the direction of the relationship was not attempted. Either "birds of a feather could flock together" or "opposites attract."

Generally about 64 campers in the Colorado 1967 camp and the Vermont 1968 camp had their scores on the pre camp TOS and HSPQ correlated with the pre test TOS; and HSPQs of their first choice to tent with, their second choice to tent with, and their last choice to tent with.

Similarly at the end of camp each individual's scores on the six raw TOS scales and the 14 HSPQ dimensions were correlated with the camper's first choice, second choice and last choice to tent with at the end of camp. The table of correlation coefficients between the individual's own score and those of his first, second and last choice on the TOS and HSPQ administered at the beginning of camp and the end of camp are presented in Appendix H.

Generally around 60 subjects were included in this analysis. The sample size for each of the correlation coefficients varied because some individuals may have not filled out some particular scale. In examining the various correlation matrixes one finds on the precamp TOS the individual's attitudes scale scores are not significantly correlated. For his first choice, the average correlation coefficient was .14 and they ranged from .23 to .08. For the second choice on the TOS scales the average correlation coefficient was .08 and they ranged from -.22 to -.01. On the last choice, (that is, the individual who the subject would care least to tent with) the average correlation coefficient was .178 and ranged from .30 to -.12. Clearly there seems to be little relationship between the person and his sociometric choices at the beginning.

In the precamp correlational study five significant correlations were found for the first choice with the HSPQ. There were significant correlations between the subjects own scores on factor A, factor D, factor F, factor H, and factor Q3 and those of the first choice. The average of all of these scales was a correlation of .20 and it ranged from .43 to -.04. On his second choice one significant correlation coefficients were found with factor B. On the person's last choice (that is, the person who they would least want to tent with at the beginning of camp) seven significant positive correlations coefficient out of the 14 HSPQ scale. These significant correlations were found with factors A, B, E, F, G, H, Q2 and Q3. The correlations ranged from .53 to .04 and had an average of .20. Apparently dislikes had a stronger relationship.

The post camp correlation of TOS survey scales and the post camp HSPQ personality characteristics also show little relationship between the subject and his scores first, second and last choice. Starting with the post camp TOS we find that there are no significant correlations between the first choice and the second choice of the campers at the end of camp. The average correlation is .086. For the second choice the average is .10. Respectively they ranged from .23 to -.03 and from .20 to .07. With regard to the last choice on the TOS, one significant correlation coefficient was found on the alienation scale. Here the correlation between the subject's post camp scale and his last choice was -.35. On the last choice the correlation coefficient range from -.35 to .02.

In the post camp HSPQ we find one significant correlation coefficient for the first choice we find that factor O is significantly correlated between the first choice and that of the subject. On the second choice we find that factor C and factor Q2 are significantly correlated. On the last choice we find that factor O and Q2 are significantly correlated. In all cases the correlations were positive and we find that the subjects tended to have similar scale scores whether it is the first, second or last choice. Summarizing the results there appears (as there was in the following study of the sociometric choice of the 1970 campers) little in the way of a strong relationship between sociometric choice and expressed attitudes and personality characteristics. The twenty significant correlation coefficients out of the 120 correlation coefficients computed were significant at the .05 level. That is 16.6% of the correlation coefficients were found to be significant. These tended to be found predominately in the HSPQ scales and in the pretest. Invariably when one computes so many correlation coefficients the chance significance has to be accounted for. One would expect by chance to find six correlation coefficients to be significant.

In summary while the data is not strong there appears to be only a slight relationship between sociometric choice and particularly personality characteristics. An examination of the various correlation matrixes however does not indicate consistency in the results. One must therefore conclude that if there is a relationship between sociometric choice and one's expressed attitudes and personality characteristics it tends to be a minor one, that is more evident in the case of individuals who were rejects. Given the weakness of the findings it would be impossible to take into account the direction of the relationship. One cannot therefore conclude on the basis of the findings whether "birds of a feather tend to flock together" or "opposites attract" which is beyond the theoretical underpinnings of the hypothesis being tested. Similarly one cannot conclude that the relationship of choice and attitudes and personality characteristics got stronger as people became acquainte Interests and behavior might show such a strengthening of the relationship, but attitudes and personality traits did not in the Colorado 1967 and Vermont 1968 camps.

In another effort to determine if people are attracted to each other -- i.e., tend to choose to be with people who express similar attitudes -- a correlational study was undertaken of the expressed attitudes of campers in 1970 and their sociometric choices. Specifically, each camper's attitudes as expressed on the six raw scales of the TOS were correlated. These scales are respectively: 1) "Attitudes About Work;" 2) "Personal Responsibility;" 3) "Adults Think I Am"; 4) "Group Effectiveness;" 5) "Alienation;" 6) "I Am." The scale scores were correlated with sociometric choices with regard to who they would most like to tent with and least like to tent with, who they would most and least like to go on a camping trip with, and finally, who they would most and least like to go to work with. Since a pre and post administration of the Teenagers Opinion Survey were given, the subject's pretest will be correlated with his early camp sociometric choices; his post-test will be correlated separately. It should be noted that the campers in the 1970 session knew one another beforehand. Consequently, whatever self-selection occurred, may have been going on for many years. In the study previously reported, the correlation of attitudes and personality characteristics and sociometric choices was at the beginning camp, when most of the campers were relatively unknown to one another and at the end of camp.

Returning to the 1970 study, only two significant correlations of 72 were found between the subject's expressed attitudes and those of his first choice and last choice for tenting with, camping with and working with someone, both on a pretest and post-test score. A significant negative correlation occurred between the "I Am" scale of the respondent and his first choices. The correlation was -.74. A positive correlation was found between group effectiveness and the first choice of tenting with someone on the post-test. This correlation was .65. Since these correlations don't remain the same between pre-test and post test, it is most likely that they reflect chance findings; one would expect about three such findings among 72 correlations at the .05 level of significance.

To summarize and to indicate the level of correlation in these studies, the average correlation between the subject's own scores on the six TOS scales and those of his first and last choices will be given. The correlation coefficients are as follows:

1) Under "camping with," averaged across the six scores, the correlation coefficient was -.125 and with the last choice -.156 on the pretest. On the post test correlations were .020 and .116 respectively. In short, there was little correlation between attitudes and sociometric choices in camping using the Teenagers Opinion Survey Scores.

2) For "tenting with," the average correlations for the pretest for the subject's first choice was -.119 and for the last choice -.141. When post test data were used, the average correlations were .086 and -.18. Again, there is little significance.

3) With regard to work, sociometric choices to work with, the correlation for first choice on the pretest were .08 and last choice -.143. Using post camp attitude scores, the average correlations were -.115 and -.273.

In summary, only two out of 72 correlations were found to be significant and there appears to be little evidence using scores derived from early camp test administrations or later camp test administrations that there is a relationship between one's attitudes as expressed in the Teenagers Opinion Survey and those of one's sociometric choices.

One of the scales used in the study was an "attitude about work." High scores on this scale reflect positive attitudes toward work. For the 1970 Vermont sample of 16 subjects, it was found that expressed attitudes about work were not significantly correlated with sociometric choices; that is, of who you would like to work with. Using the pretest, the correlation of work attitudes and sociometric work choices was .16; on the post-test the correlation was .13. Attitudes about work were significantly correlated with Inner Control pre-test. The pretest correlation was .58 with inner-control and the post-test was .66 with the Inner Control scale of Guttentag (1969). The work factor scales on the pretest were found to be correlated .32 with the percentage of times that the person came back to camp. Out of the times that it was possible for him to come as of 1970. In short, attitudes about work were relatively unrelated to one's sociometric choices with regard to work.

Summarizing previous research, ratings by the staff of campers' work performance were found to be correlated positively with the scales on the work factor: .24 on the pretest and .45 on the post-test. Again, it appears that work attitudes are relatively uncorrelated with behavior. In contrast, however, staff ratings of campers on work and the campers sociometric choices tend to be correlated significantly. In other words, it appears that scaff and campers alike are able to rate who is a good worker.

In a previous study, it was found that being perceived as a good worker tended to be positively correlated with group estimates of an individual's performance in an ambiguous task. In this study, all members of camp guessed what an individual would score on a ring-toss game. Those who were high in sociometric choices to work with were perceived as high scorers on the ring-toss experiment.

For the 1967 Colorado and 1968 Vermont groups, it was found that the precamp sociometric choices of 44 campers were correlated -.103 with attitudes about work; the post-test correlation was .20 between sociometric choice and attitudes about work. In summary, in the instance of work, it appears that sociometric choices were better related to performance and behavior and little related to espoused attitudes on the questionnaire.

SOCIOMETRIC CHOICE OF COUNSELORS AND THE EVALUATION OF CAMPERS

It was hypothesized that there would be a positive correlation between counselor's ratings of the campers and the choice of that counselor by campers. In other words, campers would choose to work with counselors who rated them positively. Data to test this hypothesis was collected in 1970. At the end of camp each counselor rated each of fourteen campers on the daily behavior ratings. These behavior ratings were then compiled into ratings scales whose content and psychometric characteristics are described previously. The choices of counselors were then sorted into first choice, second choice, third choice and last choice. A one way analysis of variance, a F ratio, was computed for each of the first, second, third and last choice counselors and ratings on the five behavior ratings scales. In other words, the first, second, third and last choice counselors and ratings on the five behavior ratings scales. In other words, the first, second, third and last choice of each of 14 campers were tested with an F ratio. The ratio within and between group variance for significance and a T test were computed between the first choice and the second choice and the last choice of the camper. In general, it was found that the counselors who were chosen first by a camper tended to rate that camper more positively than counselors who were the camper's last choice.

There is an inherent contradiction in using behavior ratings, a measure of whose reliability is relatively high agreement between the raters, for this purpose. The intraclass correlation of ratings for these 14 subjects by these five raters is: for the scale "poor worker" .73; "acts out," .44; "troubled isolate", .37; "good participant" .45; and "communicative," .27; all of which are significant beyond the .01 level. It would appear that scales such as "poor worker" would have relatively high inter-rater reliabilities and show less of a relationship with sociometric choice. However, the more ambiguous scales are more apt to reflect the positive ratings. Ideally, one would have chosen semantic differentials or more ambiguous scales in order to maximize the chance of finding a relationship between sociometric choices and the ratings by the persons being chosen. With these limitations in mind, the following is the probability for the F ratio and the T Test based on a pooled variance estimate and a separate variance estimate respectively for each of the five behavior ratings. The "poor worker" category had an F ratio of .150 and a T value with a probability of .764 with a pooled variance estimate and .782 with a separate variance estimate. This is the most concrete of the scales and the least likely to reflect inter-personal attraction. The "acts out" scale had an F ratio with .134 and T values for the tests of the means between the first and the last choice with a probability of .031 and .040. The "troubled isolate" scale had an F value of .121 and T tests probabilities of .035 and .077 respectively. The "good participant" scale had an F ratio of .384 with T probabilities of .174 and .207. Finally, the "communicative" scale had an F ratio of probability .015 and T test for the difference between the first and the last choice with probabilities with a pooled variance estimate of .054 and with a separate variance estimate of .067.

In summary, it appears that with the more ambiguous scales there tends to be positive relationship between the counselor's evaluation of a camper and his being chosen by that camper. While the relationships are weak, there does appear to be some relationship, particularly when the behavior ratings tend to be more ambiguous. It would appear that positive evaluations are to some extent a determinant of sociometric choices and may be one of a number of causal factors. Further research would need to be done using more ambiguous scales which would maximize the opportunity for interpersonal influence and attraction to be reflected.

INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTIONS

In the previous studies, we have sought to determine the similarities of attitudes and personality traits for individuals who are brought together by friendship, participation in groups and families. Except in the case of mothers and sons, we found few similarities. Such correlational studies are limited in the data relevant to discussing causality.

These studies were undertaken to examine self-selection and other variables relevant to social influence. Of equal importance to the theory of social influence is an examination of the ways individuals insulate themselves from social influence. In general systems terms how, in what ways, and what are the determinants of permiability of the individual's boundaries separating him from his milieu. The mechanisms of defense such as denial, rationalization, displacement, projection, selected inattention and interpersonal perception are all relevant to the issue of permiability.

Interpersonal perception and the numerous mechanisms that are affected are central to the theory of social influence as they play a pivotal role in filtering out social influence and making the individual open to social influence. One modest study was undertaken with 21 subjects in the Vermont 1968 summer camp. Each youngster was asked to rate the camp, the staff and how the director would rate that camper on the semantic differential items in the "I Am" scale. The camp director rated the youngsters and from his scale score the campers score was subtracted yielding discrepancy score ranging from a positive score to those who underestimate the director's score (on the scale a high score is positive and a low one is a negative evaluation). To those who overestimated the director's evaluation, it will be recalled that the direction of the discrepancy was critical in the study of the mother's evaluation.

It was hypothesized that this discrepancy score would be correlated with the ratings of the camper's psychiatric impairment. Since poor interpersonal perception can cause impairment and vice versa, it is difficult to discuss causality in the relationship. It was, however, hypothesized that they would be correlated. No significant relationship was found. The correlation between the discrepancy score and the psychiatric impairment was r=.069. The discrepancy score was insignificantly correlated with the director's rating of the youngsters at r=.307. It was, however, significantly correlated with the youngsters rating of "camp is" r=-.514 and his perception of how the director would rate him r=.-887. In these two instances when the youngsters saw himself as rated less positively than the director did, i.e., he had a positive discrepancy score, he tended to rate the camp and its staff less positively. Conversely, when he overestimated his rating by the director, i.e., had a negative discrepancy score, he was more positive about the camp and its staff. In other words, these 21 youngsters tended to see three facets of the camp, the director's rating of them, the camp staff, and the camp, similarly. They tended to be positive or negative in all areas of their perception. How their view of camp affected their experience of the camp vis a vis self-fulfilling prophecy, etc., is an important but unexamined question.

In exploring the correlates of the discrepancy scores two H.S.P.Q. second order factors extroversions and independences were found to be significantly correlated. In order, the pre-camp, post-camp and post-one year extroversions scores were correlated .016, -.583, and -.563. The latter two are significant with those who underrate their evaluation being less extroverted and those who overrated themselves as more extroverted.

The pre, post and post one year scores on independence were correlated with the discrepancy score and are respectively .236, .438 and .520. The latter two are significant and indicate that those who underrate their rating by the director tend to be more independent.

A most tentative conclusion from this data is that if you see others overrating you you tend to be extroverted, and if you think they would underrate you you are more likely to be independent.

The other significant correlates of the discrepancy score, which may well be chance, are for the post camp TOS attitudes toward work scale. On the post camp H.S.P.Q. significant correlations were found with factors B and factor J on the post one year H.S.P.Q. with factor O and with derived score on creativity. Again these may be chance findings particularly since they, unlike extroversion and independence, did not correlate over more than one administration and on face value are difficult to explain.

In summary, the hypothesized correlation between the discrepancy score, indicating poor interpersonal perception, and psychiatric impairment was not confirmed. However, the discrepancy score was related to the way the camp and its staff was perceived and to measures of independence and extroversion. These correlates seem indicative of interpersonal perception as a filter of social influence and of personality traits all of which are central to the theories of social influence and they, like many other variables, are relevant to the permiability of the individual's boundaries separating him from his milieu and require further study.

As an aside on psychiatric impairment, it was found that those rated high on impairment were low on popularity as measured by their being chosen to tent with, work with and to go on a trip with. In order with the pre-camp sociometric for each category followed by the post camp the correlation for tenting was -.523 and -.523; for working with -.541 and .-430 all of which are significant. For going on a trip with the correlations were not significant and were -.346 and .332 at the end of camp. Impairment was correlated with ratings by the staff with impairments with interpersonal skill -.811; being a good worker -.693; having potential of a junior counselor -.718; and with chance for upward social mobility -.739, all of which are significant. Clearly the impaired youngsters have trouble living with, working with and playing with their peers and have difficulty in getting along with others which may lessen their chances to break the poverty cycle.

ALIENATION AND ITS CORRELATES

The concept of alienation enjoys great popularity in these modern times and has been investigated by many researchers. It is a dimension that has emerged in enumerable attitudes studies and is generally characterized as a cynicism about people, Machiavellianism, a distrust of authority and government and a pessimistic view of the future. Among the most pronounced finding is its strong association with social class.

Alienation was of interest in this study because it is the strongest and most consistent finding to emerge from the research on the Sage Hill Camp Program, as described in previous studies (Durkin, 1969). Briefly, in four different sessions of the camp, campers were found to become more alienated. The greatest change occurred in the control group, which consisted of campers who waited throughout July to come to camp in August. Psychologically speaking, this waiting period, after school is out and before camp began, may be a period of relative disorganization. Be that as it may, this earlier research consistently demonstrated an increase of alienation in a control group and a modest decrease in alienation as a result of the camp experiment. Consequently, it was decided to explore the behavioral, attitudinal and personality trait correlates of alienation.

Psychometrically, the scale was found to be highly reliable. On the basis of the sample of 987, internal consistency was measured by alpha and found to be .790. In the summers of '67 (Colorado) and '68 in Vermont, the test-retest correlation for the beginning of camp to the end of camp was .801; from the beginning of camp to the end of one year was .545. This is based on a sample of 44 campers. Where changes did occur, it appears that the relative ranking of the campers on alienation remained consistent and they changed as a group. In Vermont 1970, alienation was found from the beginning of camp to the end of camp to have a test-retest correlation based on a sample of 16 was equal to .612. In short, the alienation dimensions appeared to be reliable both in terms of consistency and test-retest correlation. In all of the above and following data, the correlates and psychometric characteristics of the raw socres of alienation not the three dimensions of the change scales, will be correlated.

From the earliest studies of attitudes, there has been a strongly consistent lack of correlation between measures of attitudes and behavior. In this research a similar lack of relationship was found. Some modest correlations were found with other paper and pencil tests, but **strikingly** few were found with behavior as measured by the behavior ratings, sociometric choices, participation in the program, etc. In the summers of 1967 and 1968 alienation was correlated with the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ). In Vermont, 1970, the alienation scale was correlated with the HSPQ, the California Personality Inventory (Gough, 1957), the Expectancy about Aggression Scale (Adams, & Jessor 1969) and the Inner and Outer Control Scale of Güttentag (1966). In 1970 15 out of 88 significant correlations of the raw alienation scales with personality measures were found. The pre-camp alienation scale was found to be correlated -.589 with the CPI scale number 6 with a sample of 13 on the pre-test and -.490 with the post-test with a sample of 16. In other words, high scores on alienation were correlated with low scores on the sense of well-being scale which Gough describes as being unambitious, leisurely, awkward, cautious, apathetic and conventional; also as self-defensive, apologetic and constricted in thought. Similarly, alienation was negatively correlated with CPI scale number 10. That is, high scores on alienation were associated with people who are "suspicious, narrow, aloof, wary and retiring"; passive, overly judgmental in attitude, disbelieving and distrustful in personal and social outlook. The pre and post test correlations were -.570 and -.295 respectively. The correlation clearly makes sense given the similarity of the two dimensions. The CPI scale number 14, achievement via independence was also found to be negatively correlated with alienation. High scores on alienation were correlated -.711 on the pre-test and -.575 on the post-test. High scores in alienation were correlated -.695 on the pretest and -.511 on the post-test with scale 17 (flexibility) on the CPI. High alienation was correlated with being deliberate, cautious, worrying, industrious, guarded, mannerly, methodical and rigid; also, overly deferential to authority, custom and tradition.

Alienation was correlated significantly with the femininity scale (18) of the CPI. High alienation tended to be correlated (-.514 and -.474 on the pre-test and post-test respectively) with being outgoing, hardheaded, ambitious, masculine, active, robust and restless; also manipulative and opportunistic in dealing with others, blunt and direct in thinking and acting, impatient with delay in decisions and reflection. The basis for these correlations seems obvious on the basis of the scales. They clearly describe dimensions similar to alienation.

In 1970, 13 pretest alienation scores and 16 post-test alienation scores were correlated .656 and .596 with second order Factor EXVIA on the HSPQ. That is, the more alienated persons were regarded as being more extroverted. In this set of data, derived factor, achievement, was found to be correlated .643 and .572 with alienation. That is, high scores on alienation tended to be associated with high achievement. In the primary factor, a correlation on the pre-test of .685 and on the post-test of .410 was found between alienation and factor H on Cattell's HSPQ. In other words, those high in alienation tended to be venturesome, socially bold, uninhibited and spontaneous. Alienation was found to be correlated at the .819 level on the pretest with a measure of outer control as used by Guttentag (1969). On the post tests with an N=16 the correlation was found to be .669. The Outer Control Scale is similar to alienation in that it regards the individual as being relatively passive in the face of social circumstance and fate and little able to make his own fate. This appears to be the basis for the relationship.

These, then are some of the paper and pencil correlates of the alienation scale. Again one must be cautious in interpreting the results, particularly those of the HSPQ, since they are based on a small sample and some may be chance findings; 15 out of 88 correlations proved to be significant.

In the 1970 data, alienation was found to be not correlated with a variety of behavioral measures; for example, it was not correlated with ranking in terms of popularity as a tent mate. The pre and post scores were correlated .18 and .29 respectively with ranking of popularity as a tent mate. For popularity as a work mate, the pre and post correlations were .28 and .14 respectively. Finally for popularity as a partner on a camping trip, the correlations were .17 and .12.

In the summer when campers determined the salaries of those who worked at the camp, the amount and rank order of pay voted by fellow campers was correlated at .21 and .05 with the pretest scores on alienation.

Another behavioral measure found to be relatively unrelated to alienation was the percentage of the number of times that campers returned to camp. That is, out of all the times they could have come back in subsequent summers, what percent of times did they come back? This "return rate" was correlated .17 and .19 with the pre and post tests. The alienation measures was relatively uncorrelated with age; the pre-test and age had a correlation of .140 and the post test and age a higher but insignificant correlation of .463.

The test-retest administrations of the alienation scale for the precamp-post camp correlated .911; for the post camp and five weeks after camp, administrations correlated .855. Again, the alienation scale appears to be reliable in terms of its internal consistency and test-retest correlations, but like many attitude scales, is only slightly related to behavior.

ALIENATION AND BEHAVIORAL CORRELATES

In the summer of 1970 daily behavior ratings, which have been described elsewhere, were developed and used. Each day, some staff rated one of the 14 campers with whom they worked or spent time with during the day. At the item level, the correlations were relatively poor as one would expect with five different raters on their final rating. Scale level inter-rater reliabilities or correlations, however improved so as to be useful for the purposes of this analysis.

In order to determine some of the behavioral correlates of the alienation scale, both the precamp and the postcamp alienation scores were correlated with the final ratings made by each staff member at the end of camp. The end of camp ratings were made by every staff member on all 16 of the campers and represented ratings of each camper for his overall performance that summer. As part of the study, the alienation scores were correlated at the item level with each of the 75 items of behavior rated by each of the five raters. (These items are presented in Appendix F.) Only 24 out of 375 rater-items were found to be significantly related at the .05 level to the pretest scores on alienation. These correlations were based on a sample of 13 and a significant correlation must exceed .444. Given the poor inter-rater reliabilities and the relatively few number of significant correlations, many of which are probably chance correlations, any interpretations of the results must be considered with caution and with recognition that this was simply a search for behavioral correlates of all the 75 items included for rating. 16 of the items had one or more statistically significant correlations from one of the five raters, which gives 375 rater items. Items with one significant correlation at the .05 level for the one tail test of significance are items 11, 13, 15, 17, 33, 36, 38, 41, 45, 46, 48, 55, 60, 67, 70, and 72.

The items which had two or more significant correlations follow:

Item 13 "talked of a personal problem." Staff ratings correlated significantly with the anomia scale. For item 13, the correlations for the five raters were -.701, -.792, -.160, -.054 and .143.

Item 15 "complained about staff." This had correlations for the raters of -.444, .558, .438, -.028 and .143.

Item 36 "camper was isolated." This item had correlations of .234, -.565, -.403 and -.624. In this instance, the more isolated the individual, the less alienated he was.

Item 55 "distrusts others" had correlations of .242, .575, .427, .413 and -.440. The more distrustful scores indicated greater amount of alienation.

Finally, item 69, "involved in camp", the more uninvolved campers received a high score. Consequently, a positive correlation shows that an uninvolved individual would be high on alienation. The correlations for the five raters were .054, -.429, .536, .005 and -.606, respectively. These correlations were presented to illustrate the level of the correlations. In the case of alienation, however, there is no clear finding of a relationship between scores on alienation and any of the 75 items of behavior as rated by the 5 different raters.

Turning now to the daily behavior ratings, at the scale level, we find again that essentially, there was no relationship between each of the five behavior scales and the final ratings on the campers. At the scale level, the inter-rater reliabilities were higher but again no correlations were found. Again, for purposes of simply reporting the data, the following are the correlations between the final ratings of each camper by each of the 5 staff. These ratings are correlated with the alienation raw scale scores on the pretest. The behavior rating scales are described in the section on the process evaluation.

The "poor worker" scale was correlated for the five raters -.442, -.233, -.152, .062 and -.229. The "acts out" scale had shown little relationship to the alienation scale in correlation coefficients with the five raters as follows: .060, -.650, .383, .127 and .085. The "troubled isolate" scale correlations were all negative and showed little relationship. They were .1212, -.348, -.339, and -.004 and -.488 respectively. The "good participant" scale was correlated for the 5 raters with the alienation scale at .218, .222, .173, -.240 and .343. Finally, the "communicative" scale showed a higher correlation with the alienation, scale, with the communicative person tending to be less alienated. The correlations were -.644, -.172, -.188, -.343, and -.592. In short at the scale level, there seems to be little consistent relationship between the pretest, precamp raw alienation score and the 5 behavior rating scale. Again, problems of sample size and inter-rater reliability confounds the interpretation of the data. In general there appears to be little relationship.

Some relationships did occur in demographic and behavioral measures. For example, T tests were run for significance at the item level for all of the TOS for Eastern and Western campers. It was found that the boys from the West were consistently less alienated than the Eastern campers. Although both groups of campers came from urban areas, it appears that the Western group in general is less alienated. They were less alienated than the Eastern campers to begin with. In the camp study, both Eastern and Western control groups became more alienated and all four camp groups became less alienated during camp. In the Vermont summer of '68, Spanish campers tended to be less alienated than tended to be less alienated than Black campers, yielding a point by serial correlation of .518 with a sample of N=24.

Summarizing the correlates of alienation, one finds, as is typical of many attitudes scales, that alienation is relatively unrelated to behavior and tends to be correlated with other attitude scales. The CPI, which seem most similar in terms of content, seemed most related to the alienation scale. Another approach to the study of the behavioral correlates of alienation will be to look at groups of alienated people over a period of time. It may be that various behavior ratings over a period of time do reveal correlates which are cancelled out by final ratings, or one time ratings. Such a study is described in Section II, Process Evaluation. To summarize results of this study, it is plagued by small sample size and problems of reliability of raters at even the scale level. These problems notwithstanding, the study was attempted to explore the relationship of behavior overtime and alienation.

CORRELATES OF ALIENATION

While the search for correlates of the raw (R-5) scale alienation measure turned up relatively few behavioral or paper and pencil measure correlates, the contrasting of the upper and lower third of the youngsters on alienation over 25 days and on five behavioral ratings revealed significant differences between the groups on three behavior rating scales. This study is presented in detal in Section Two on Process Evaluation.

These findings are mentioned here because of their important implications for the theory of social influence, their relevance for behavioral correlates of alienation and their implication for future research. Briefly, when the pre-camp alienation scale (R-5) was correlated with the five final "99" behavior rating scales no significant correlations were found. However, when the upper and lower thirds on the alienation scale were plotted over 25 days significant differences emerged on three out of five of the measures. As common sense might dictate a strongly held attitude such as alienation is reflected in behavior in specific situations over a period of time. Most people don't always act Republican or Democrat, but they are most likely to behave "Democraticly" or "Republicanly" in the voting booth and other politically relevant situations. So it may be with alienation. In alienation relevant situations such as "good" and "bad" group moods alienation reflective behaviors are evoked. The research considered some of these social climates briefly, but was unable to do little more than explain some aspects of the social climate vis a vis alienation because of the methodologic constraints, etc. Clearly the findings indicate that over an extended period of time, i.e., a variety of social climates, significant differences emerged between those who are high in contrast to those who are low on alienation. This, of course, indicates the responsiveness of individuals to their social milieu both in terms of shaping their personalities, changing their attitudes, and evoking alienation-relevant behaviors. The finding of both the camp as a social experiment and the contrasting of people over time corroberate this ongoing adaptation to their mileaux. These findings have important implications for research seeking to identify and explore the behavioral manifestations of attitudes and personality traits; namely, observations of behavior must be made over an extended period of time and in a variety of social contexts. The relative failure to find such behavioral manifestations may be the result of looking at one point of time as in the case of the use of the final, "99", ratings rather than over an extended period of time as with the daily behavior ratings.

SUMMARY

The research reported or discussed in this section was intended to test hypothesis relevant to the theory of social influence and to explore its implications. Briefly, the theory of social influence argues that a portion of the stability of personality, i.e., attitudes, perceptions, motivations, and behavior, etc., is due to the fact that personality is in a process of continually adapting to our social milieu and that these mileaux differ little over the years. On the basis of this theory one would expect changes in such things as attitudes, motivations, behavior, i.e., personality when the individual is placed in a different milieu. A second implication is that different mileaux evoke different behaviors, attitudes, etc.

Two of the major studies reported here support these propositions. In the study of the impact of the camp, it was found that the camp group in contrast to the randomly assigned control group became less alienated at the camp while the control group became more alienated during the July waiting period to come to camp. It was conjectured that the reason for the increase in cynicism, sense of powerlessness and distrust of others, i.e., alienation was due in part to (1) the loss of an organizing force in their lives, that is, school; (2) closer and more negative relations with their parents and (3) the disillusionment when summer dreams are not fulfilled. This changed situation resulted in significant changes in the camp and control group. In subsequent summers this finding was less clear, but that may have been for such methodological reasons as the lack of a randomly assigned control group and the lack of new campers, etc. In short, however, the research found clear and consistent changes in alienation as a result of changes in the social milieu, and thus lent support to the theory of social influence.

Similarly the contrasting of campers high and low on alienation over 25 days revealed statistically significant differences on three out of five daily behavioral measures. These differences were not apparent when the contrasts were made at one point in time, namely, the final or "99" behavior rating. This finding suggests that alienation relevant behaviors emerged only when looked at over time indicating the importance of social context. In other words alienation relevant behaviors appears to be situationally specific. Again this supports the ecological tenet of the social influence theory.

In exploring the relationship between personality and milieu, research was undertaken to examine the process of self-selection in order to determine if people seek out and/or are led to friends and mileaux congruent with their personalities. The sociometric structure of the camp was determined at the beginning and end of camp to determine if people with similar attitudes, as measured by the TOS and personality traits, as measured by the HSPQ, sorted themselves to be with people who were similar in attitudes and personality traits. Neither in the beginning among relative strangers nor at the end of camp when youngsters knew each other did these campers "flock together." This may have been because the attitudes and traits as measured by paper and pencil tests were less salient than the behaviors of being a good worker or fun to be with, etc., which were more the basis of the sociometric structure.

In line with the more behavioral basis of sociometric structure, it was found that campers tended to choose staff to work with, who rated them positively on two out of five behavioral ratings. These ratings, the "Acts Out" scale and the "Communicativeness" scale were the more ambiguous of the behavioral ratings and thus may have been more amenable to be influenced by friendship. In any case, campers did seek out staff who among many things rated them positively on these dimensions.

In two other searches for similarity of attitudes between the campers and (1) friends they brought to fill out the TOS and (2) 21 of their mothers no statistically significant correlations were found between the six raw scales on the TOS and the scores of their mothers or friends.

When the mothers' evaluation of the sons were compared to the son's evaluation of himself, it was found that when the son was more positive in his self-evaluation than his mother the higher he would rate on a scale of psychiatric impairment, i.e., the more impaired he was regarded by the staff. Some causal explanations for this were considered and some of the correlates of the mothers' evaluations were examined.

Finally correlates of alienation were explored among a variety of paper and pencil tests and behavior ratings. Except with behaviors rated over a period of time few correlates of alienation were found.

In summary, evidence was found to support the notion that people's attitudes at least respond to changes in the mileaux and that attitudenally relevant behavior, in this case alienation, seem specific to situation a fact that requires behavioral observations over an extended period of time and a variety of social contexts. Little similarity was found between the attitudes of friends and parents as measured by the TOS. However a discrepancy between the mother's evaluation of her son and the son's self-evaluation was found to be predictive of the son's psychiatric impairment. This discrepancy or disagreement may be a measure of family milieu which is conducive to greater impairment.

One final study of interpersonal perception was undertaken to examine phenomena very relevant to the theory of social influence, namely how do individuals insulate themselves from social influence. In other words what variables affect the permiability of their boundaries. Interpersonal perception was briefly examined as a predictor of psychiatric impairment and as an important filtering device for social influence.

This then was the research undertaken relevant to the theory of social influence which is the theoretical underpinning of the Sage Hill Summer Camp and Follow-up Program.

IV EVALUATING RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS FOR DISTURBED CHILDREN: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND A PROPOSED MODEL

A major portion of the project undertaken and reported here was a review of the evaluative literature on residential treatment programs for disturbed children and the development of a generalizable model for evaluating such programs. The results of the exhaustive review of the literature and the proposed model are presented in Appendix B as a chapter, "Evaluating Residential Treatment Programs for Disturbed Children" (Durkin & Durkin, 1975). This chapter also appears in the Handbook of Evaluative Research, Volume II (Guttentag & Struening 1975).

Since the entire chapter is included in the Appendix it will be only briefly summarized here. On the basis of the review of the evaluative studies of residential treatment programs, the authors' categorized the studies into different types of evaluations and discussed both the methodological problems inherent in each type and their substantive findings. The relative advantages and disadvantages of each type of study were then contrasted. The first group of studies reviewed were included in the category of goal attainment studies. They included Goldenberg's (1971) study of the Residential Youth Center and a variety of follow-up studies; e.g., Johnson and Reid (1947), Garber (1972), Allerhand et al. (1966), Taylor and Alpert (1973). Generally little relationship was found between "in house" variables and later community adjustment. It appears that adjustment as examined at follow up was related to one's community experience rather than to any lasting effects of the residential experience. Thus, follow up studies prove logically and empirically to be a limited means of evaluating the success of a program. Lehrman (1968) points out that it is inconsistent for residential treatment programs to take credit for successes and to renounce responsibility for their failure when children recidivate and/or do poorly in the community, i.e., to claim that failure is a result of a the youngsters' returning to pathogenic family and community situations. This highlights the issue of the irrelevance of post-discharge adjustment for evaluation. Other limitations in follow up studies and goal attainment studies include their relative inability to provide immediate and ongoing feedback about the functioning of a program and their inability to delineate the differential contributions of various aspects of the program to the outcome.

The next category of studies was process evaluations which are plagued by the opposite dilemma of follow up studies; namely the irrelevance of in-house adjustment for post discharge adjustment; Monkman (1973) demonstrated improvement in behavior in the course of residential treatment. Nelson et al (1973) raised the question from a behaviorist's point of view by asking in effect; if the problematic behaviors are community based and don't occur in the institution, such as relationships with parents, how can the institutions be relevant for treating these difficulties? In order to minimize the irrelevance of in house behavior for later behavior, they propose a four step model of evaluation which delineates problematic behavior before, during and after residential treatment and consequently attempts to combine the advantages, while minimizing the disadvantages to both process and goal attainment type studies.

Another group of studies was categorized as system evaluations which examine residential treatment in the larger context of the community and its network of caregivers; e.g., Maluccio (1974) and Maluccio and Thomas (1972). Other system evaluations examine programs qua social systems, as in the studies of Polsky and Claster (1968) and Polsky (1962). These studies examine the residential institution from the social systems point of view, with regard to its functioning and the way it's organized to achieve its various goals.

The final category of evaluation was described as "comparative." For example, Street et al, (1966) conducted a comparative evaluation of three different types of institutions for delinquents. Such a comparative study is of practical significance when one is required to choose between competing programs. The problem, of course, is finding meaningful common denominators on which to make comparisons. Also reviewed were a variety of descriptive studies, including Alt (1960) and Hagen & Reid (1952).

One section of the chapter deals with the conflicts inherent in residential treatment vis-a-vis the "raising" and "treating" of children in the same institution. Unlike adults, disturbed children are being both "treated" and "raised." If adults, having already been socialized to being adults, can succumb to the iatrogenti illness of institutionalization, then children could be expected to be far more vulnerable to being socialized to patient roles. Pillivan (1963) described a study of attempts to resolve conflicts between treatment and childcare staff. A variety of working solutions that have evolved to deal with this vexing dilemma in the residential treatment are discussed, including Bettleheim's (1950) use of the marginal interview, the use of the European educateur model of child care (Linton 1971), and the use of behavior modification. Working solutions to the dilemmas of "raising" and "treating" children are used as a point of comparison for different programs.

After considering the advantages and disadvantages of various types of evaluations of residential treatment programs for disturbed children, a generalizable model which utilizes an open systems perspective is developed. This model focuses on the residential treatment program qua social system. The model identifies the various goals of the program and the particularized means for achieving them. Assumptions about individuals and programs are delineated, as are both the subsystems or components of a program and the supra systems; e.g., community network of caregivers and family. The model further calls for the delineation of a variety of critical intramural processes, including communication, accountability, decision-making, monitoring, coordination and support of staff. Ways in which the model may be used in conjunction with a goal attainment study are discussed. It is argued that the study of an institution qua institition is the most useful type of evaluation when one does not have: 1) a randomly assigned control group; and/or 2) an adequate sample size for either comparisons between control and experimental groups or multivariate analysis of the predictors of success, etc. The proposed model is intended to provide ongoing feedback about the organization and lends itself to developing built in mechanisms for self evaluation. Typically programs do not clearly delineate what their goals are or how they are organized to achieve them.

The first step in evaluation and perhaps the most useful one for a program is to describe and analyze it in detail. In general, the authors conclude that while a systems evaluation is not a panacea, it is more fruitful to evaluate programs qua social systems rather than to evaluate them in terms of their impact on the attitudes, personality characteristics, adjustments and behavior of their participants.

SUMMARY

The research reported here sought to: (1) review the evaluative studies of residential treatment programs for disturbed children with regard to their substantive findings and methodological issues; (2) develop a model for evaluating such programs; (3) develop instruments and strategies more useful for program evaluation; (4) assess the impact of the Sage Hill Summer Camp and year-round program on poverty and/or disturbed teenagers and (5) to test various hypotheses relevant to the theory of social influence, the theoretical underpinning of the program. The program itself may be considered a transfer experiment regarding social influence and poverty-relevant attitudes, personality traits, and behavior.

In reviewing the evaluative studies of treatment programs, it was found that goal attainment, follow up, process, and comparative evaluation studies all had inherent methodological and logical limitations, which in the absence of a randomly assigned control group, raised serious questions about the usefulness of evaluating treatment programs on the basis of their impact on people. It was concluded that it would be more useful to examine programs qua institution, i.e. with regard to their organizational efficiency and their optimal allocations of resources, etc. While not precluding other types of evaluative studies, a systems modle utilizing an open systems perspective was presented to delineate the program with regard to its various goals and the way it is organized to achieve them. This model was designed to provide more immediate and useful feedback to the program and to develop and formalize mechanisms for ongoing, built-in self evaluation necessary for "mid course corrections." Such a systems oriented evaluative study would have marked advantages for example over a ten year follow up study of a program which few people can recall and is undoubtedly very different now from what it was ten years ago.

The proposed model addresses such "common sense" issues as how efficient is it to have the clinical staff work from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. when the children are in school from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. This model was used both to describe the Sage Hill Camp Program and to provide an example of the model's applications. See Appendix A: "A Model for a Summer Camp and Follow Up Program for Poverty and/or Disturbed Teenagers."

In reviewing the evaluative studies of programs, it became clear that there are major methodological problems inherent in the use of highly reliable (in terms of test-retest reliability) measures. While reliable measures are generally desirable, they may be inappropriate for use in evaluating programs by assessing their impact on changes in attitudes, personality traits, and behaviors, etc. For example, if measures of intelligence are relatively stable over time how useful are they to assess the impact of programs like Headstart?

Assuming attitudes, personality traits and behaviors can be arranged on a continuum from those that are enduring, i.e. least changeable to those that are ephemeral and change almost capriciously, then an evaluator would need to select traits and their measures with more intermediate ranges of reliability, if one hopes to assess the program in terms of its detectable impact on participants.

A major portion of this research sought to identify and measure salient dimensions within a domain of poverty relevant attitudes that are amenable to change. Change scores at the item level were factor analyzed for all subjects on whom repeated administrations of the Teenagers Opinion Survey (TOS) were availabe. Using factor analysis as an item selection procedure, scales were constructed composed of items that changed together. The change oriented scales were then compared to non change oriented scales, called "raw scales," in terms of their psychometric characteristics and in terms of their ability to detect change in a variety of matched T-tests and trend analyses of variences. The results of using such change oriented measures were less than conclusive except in the domain of alienation, which the camp program clearly affected. The methodological limitations of the scale construction and their utilization in analyses of variences were discussed. It was concluded that despite the lack of conclusive results, the work was worthwhile in terms of its attempt to develop and use measure sensitive to change. Suggestions were made to overcome some of the methodological limitations that were unavoidable in this reanalysis of the Teenagers Opinion Survey data. The importance, vis a vis program evaluation, of developing such change sensitive measures and the value of this particular approach were examined.

In a similar manner, dimensions of change sensitive items of changeable behaviors were identified and measured using factor analytic procedures. In the summer of 1970 all youngsters were rated daily on 75 items of behavior. In an attempt at process evaluation, changes in behavior over time were determined, but found to be statistically non-significant. However, when the upper and lower thirds of campers on an alienation measure were plotted over time, it was found that on three out of five of the behavior rating scales the groups differed significantly. This suggests that alienation relevant differences may be situationally specific and may emerge only over a period of time.

The theory of social influence, "Personality and Milieu: A Theory of Social Influence" (presented in Appendix G) argues that a portion of the stability of personality is due to the fact that individuals are in an ongoing adaption to the milieu and that these mileaux are relatively similar over time. The impact of camp particularly in regard to changes in alienation was examined as a transfer experiment relevant to social influence. The emergence only over the 25 days of camp of alienation relevant behavior was similarly examined vis a vis the social influence theory. The history of the inability of paper and pencil measure to relate to behavior was considered as a possible artifact of looking at behavior at just one point in time, rather than over extended periods of time.

In another attempt at a process evaluation of the program, the Teenagers Opinion Survey and the High School Personality Questionnaire were used to predict, using step wise multiple regression procedures, who would participate and benefit from the program. The manipulating of the pathways into programs was explored as a means to enhance the process of self-selection and thus to improve the matching of clients to programs. The ethical, methodological, and practical issues in so utilizing self selection were examined.

A variety of hypotheses were tested that were relevant to social influence theory. While not considering cause and effect relationships, the attempt was made to determine if individuals with similar attitudes and personality traits tended to "flock" together through a process of self selection. In this way they might selectively expose themselves to social influences similar to and supportive of their own attitudes and traits. Based on measures from the T.O.S. and H.S.P.Q., significant correlations of attitudes and personality traits were not found between children and their mothers, friends and sociometric choices in camp. Over the period of the camp an increase in the similarity between sociometric choices did not occur as a result of campers becoming better acquainted. While paper and pencil measures were relatively unrelated to sociometric choices, behavior was related to choices. Campers more often chose to work with the better workers. The performance of the better workers was also overestimated by their peers on ambigious tasks. Campers tended significantly to choose counselors to work with who rated them positively on the more ambiguous behavior rating scales. In short behavior was more prominant, than the relatively abstract paper and pencil measures, in affecting the process of self selection.

In a study of the similarity of 23 mothers' and sons' attitudes as measured by the T.O.S., some interesting relationships were found. Attitudes of mothers and sons were not found to be significantly similar. However, if a son had a more positive evaluation of himself than his mother did, the degree of overevaluation, perhaps grandiosity, was significantly related to his rating of psychiatric impairment by the camp staff. It was not the degree of discrepency per se that was predictive of impairment, but the youngster's overestimate or grandiosity which may have been compensatory for the mother's more negative feedback. The more alienated the mother was, the more positively she rated her son, which may have been an attempt to see her more personal life, i.e. her family as positive in contrast to her role in a harsh, Machiavellian, and disinterested world. That a stronger relationship in attitudes occurs between mothers and sons than between son and peers is of little surprise considering their long and salient relationship.

In summary the research reviewed the literature on evaluating residential treatment programs and developed a model of program evaluations in general and utilized it in evaluating the Sage Hill Program in particular. Change sensitive measures were developed of behaviors and attitudes and these were used to evaluate the camp program. The impact of a change in milieu from ghetto to summer camp was examined vis a vis the theory of social influence, which was central to the camp's rationale. Finally a variety of hypotheses were tested relevant to this theory of social influence.

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APPENDIX A

A MODEL

FOR A SUMMER CAMP AND FOLLOW-UP PROGRAM FOR POVERTY AND/OR DISTURBED TEENAGERS

Roderick Durkin

Each night, 150,000 children go to bed in approximately 2,000 residential treatment programs in the United States. These programs have a wide range of therapeutic philosophies and strategies vary greatly in their success in achieving their therapeutic and other goals. Given that such a large number of children continue to be treated and housed in residential treatment programs, it is vital that a greater understanding be developed of the creation and use of therapeutic milieux. This chapter will seek to describe and analyze in detail an open-system model for a combined residential and community program.

This model is derived primarily from Sage Hill Camp in Montezuma, Colo., and the E. Gordon Smith Boys Ranch in Jamaica, Vt., both of which were run in conjunction with a year-round follow-up program. This model was never achieved in its entirety in the course of the various Sage Hill programs. It is a composite of various aspects and experiences of the program and seeks to combine components which were achieved at different times.

The proposed model is unique in its attempt to utilize a short-term residential experience in combination with a community-based program and in the nature and extent of its efforts to involve the clients actively in their own treatment and to gain peer group support for therapeutic changes and goals. The model is derived in part from the theory of social influence and personality which was presented in the previous chapter.

An open-systems perspective has been chosen for several reasons. From such a perspective, the program can be described holistically with regard to its variety of goals and the particularized means for achieving them, and with emphasis on the components of the program, the inter-relatedness of these components. A systems perspective has been chosen because it can also increase the generalizability of the proposed model to other systems and treatment programs. Moreover, it provides a more appropriate framework for analysis and evaluation of such programs than does an outcome study.[1] Inevitably, an analysis such as this de-emphasizes the life of camp as a fun, satisfying and lively place and instead overemphasizes the social engineering aspects of the program, giving it an unreal, manipulative, 1984 quality. The purely playful, social qualities of the camp experience are, nevertheless, very significant.

An anecdote relevant to the relation of social science to a real life program occurred in the summer of 1968. After being off for a few days, a staff returned to camp and said that he was astounded how well the camp was going, considering that it was the end of the session. It had been his experience elsewhere that toward the end of camp people generally "checked out," lost interest, and that things went poorly and ground to a halt. In contrast, he felt the campers were getting more involved and were enjoying the camp more and that there was a growing esprit de corps, all of which was, according to his experience, quite atypical. In response, I asked if he had read the proposal (which is similar to this chapter) which sought to explicate the camp milieu. He said with unfeigned surprise, "Oh, yeah, that's right, that didn't occur to me." Clearly, he lost track of the relationship between the day-to-day experiences in camp and what he had read in the Grant proposal.

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[1] See Chapter on Evaluative Research for discussion of limits of the outcome study.

INPUTS

Inputs provide a logical place to begin the analysis and description of a therapeutic milieu. The inputs which are of obvious importance for this model system are monies staff, participants, building material, food, land, time, medical care, and supportive community services. In the case of the Sage Hill Camp program, these mundane matters proved to be critical at times and the lack of one or several severely constrained the functioning of the program.

The goal here, however, is to analyze the social psychology of the milieu and the techniques with which it is created and utilized for therapeutic purposes. These ideological aspects of the program are often less clearly defined than the more obvious and visible inputs of monies, staff, food, etc. However, assumptions about the nature of personality and its relationship to the social psychological milieux are crucial inputs in the case of a therapeutic model and a description of these assumptions or inputs follows:

ASSUMPTION 1: It is assumed that such problems as the poverty cycle, drug addiction, and alienation among youth, etc. are a response primarily to ongoing social influences in both the larger environment and the milieu of the peer group, etc. While for some individuals these problems may reflect a personal etiology, for the majority of the individuals, their problems represent adaptation to their environment. Thus, despite the fact that each individual has a unique etiology, these problems are best regarded as problems of social deviance, in contrast to problems like psychosis, neurosis, etc., which are better understood as "personal troubles" rather than social issues (Mills, 1959)[2] Obviously, such factors as environment, family, and the content of one's culture play an important part in the manifestation of personal disorders, but such problems are best understood and correspondingly treated in a way which focuses primarily on the individual's etiology.

The proposed model reflects the view that the poverty cycle is primarily the result of the individual's adaptation to a poverty environment. Conceptualized in social influence terms, the strategy of this model is to create a social system with non-poverty or counte poverty norms which will promote and sustain psychological changes designed to help the individual break the poverty cycle. The social system seeks to be orderly, predictable, tolerant of individual differences and to lessen the risks of failure. Such a milieu may incidentally prove to be therapeutic for more personal disorders of neuroses, psychoses, retardation, etc. For the present, the model will be made explicit only for changing poverty-perpetuating characteristics. In addition to being an inappropriate approach in the long run, "psychological treatment" tends to be inefficient and expensive.

While poverty is basically the result of political disenfranchisement, this program starts with the assumption that a specific group of youngsters can be helped to overcome the poverty-perpetuating influences of their environment, and that they are amenable to on-going non- or counter-poverty social influences.

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[2] Non-poverty here is differentiated from poverty but does not imply or connote a white middle-class type of social milieu. It is intended to imply a milieu of one's choosing which is different from a poverty milieu.

ASSUMPTION 2: The primary psychological cause of the perpetuation of poverty is the individual's response to the lack of opportunity, disrupted family life, ineffective schools, a demeaning welfare system, etc. Negative relationships with police, teachers, social workers, delinquent gangs, etc., also effect feelings of passivity, rage, worthlessness, and futility which render the individual less capable of taking advantage of the meager opportunities that are available. The psychological effect of these debilitating experiences also exacerbate the problems inherent in growing up which also helps to perpetuate the poverty cycle.

ASSUMPTION 3: Unlike certain aspects of "core personality," the psychological characteristics described here as poverty-perpetuating--namely, specific attitudes, movivations, interpersonal skills, and cognitions--are assumed to be amenable to current social influence and involved in a process of ongoing adaptation to the environment. The following are some of the specific traits which are considered poverty-perpetuating: impulsiveness, lack of consequential thinking, low-need-achievement, passivity, poor work habits, inability to postpone gratification, etc. It follows, then, that if a counter-poverty social system were created and made salient to the individual, these particular psychological traits would respond to the new milieu. In other words, the model seeks to provide experiences which will "teach" the individual the psychological skills necessary to free himself from poverty-perpetuating influences. It should be noted that the poverty-perpetuating traits are similar to those found in the "Sociopathic syndrome" and it may prove to be a moot question whether treatment should be regarded as psychotherapy or resocialization.

ASSUMPTION 4: Impulsiveness disables many poverty-adaptive youngsters from making a sustained effort because it undermines the long-term efforts necessary to break the poverty cycle. For most people, the most realistic course out of poverty is assumed to be a long, difficult sustained effort at work and in school. Impulsiveness is dysfunctional in that it leaves the individual relatively stimulus-bound. It is often rationalized by belief in luck, a desire to be spontaneous and uncommitted and the belief that a change in one's situation is imminent. Nevertheless, the impulse-ridden poverty-adapted youngster is in essence a prisoner of his own impulses, since he is not free to choose impulsivity versus self-control and perseverance.

ASSUMPTION 5: A common, not necessarily incorrect stereotype of the poor, is that they are unwilling to postpone gratification. A lack of consequential thinking, i.e., poor planning for the future, and mismanagement of one's life in terms of long-range goals, is an understandable response to an environment which characteristically lacks realistic and attainable long-term goals and acceptable means to achieve them. This situation encourages the pursuit of more immediate satisfactions. Individuals seeking such immediate goals are not encouraged to develop the strategies or the skills essential to long-term planning and managing of one's life, one's time, and the resources, "connections," and opportunities which are available. All of the skills inherent in such managing and planning need and can best be developed in a counter-poverty milieu which places a premium on consequential thinking and management skills, and offers step-by-step rewards and encouragement.

ASSUMPTION 6: In a broad sense, consumer education--i. e., learning to discriminate between real opportunities and bogus ones--is a psychological skill that involves the exercise of good judgment; for example, discriminating between gambling as a serious way to make money and the more middle-class view of it as a therapeutic fling. Learning cues about real opportunities versus bogus or realistic ones is an important skill relevant to the poverty cycle.

ASSUMPTION 7: Inappropriate, over-determined and uncontrollable anger, distrustfulness, disrespect and rebellion against any and all authority are usually self-defeating for the individual. Many individuals don't use their anger effectively and displace it to others or turn it on themselves in destructive ways. Self-destructiveness may be exhibited by telling off teachers, who can retaliate, by taking drugs, risking imprisonment, etc. Inability to understand, control and use one's anger effectively is often instrumental in continuing the poverty cycle. Similarly, a lack of such interpersonal skills as cooperation, trust, accurate interpersonal perception may be the result of poverty-perpetuating adaptations to a frustrating environment.

ASSUMPTION 8: The need for achievement--i.e., to demonstrate one's abilities and personal accomplishments--is a motivation prerequisite to improving oneself and mastering the environment. Poverty-adapted individuals have few opportunities for self-improvement, and are consequently less likely to develop strong motivation for achievement. The inability to persevere may again be a response to the poverty environment with its absence of clear and present and obtainable goals.

ASSUMPTION 9: According to the proposed theory of social influence, it is contradictory to assume that an individual's life course and his adaptations to poverty, drug addiction, delinquency, etc., can be changed by a brief interlude away from the poverty milieu. One might raise this question: even if such an interlude could change poverty-perpetuating psychological characteristics, wouldn't the individual quickly readjust upon his return to the old environment? Such a criticism suggests that the individual is decisively adapted and absolutely accepting of the poverty environment.

There is evidence, however, that poverty youngsters are enculturated in the values, goals, attitudes, aspirations, and behaviors of the non-poverty world, as well, and that they do have competing reference groups. Cohen, in his book, The Culture of the Gang (1955) argues that disadvantaged boys are very much aware of the success-oriented, dominant culture, partly due to advertising, the mass media, the movies, songs, and numerous contacts or exposures to the non-poverty world through school, jobs, church, etc. He argues that the vandalism of delinquents, for example, is a type of group reaction-formation in which youngsters reject the things they realistically have little hope of attaining. It is true that the very powerful advertising industry beams many of its messages to the lesser educated and poorer segments of the population and undoubtedly this effort does, in fact, disseminate dominant American-consumer goals and values to the poor. The obvious concern with clothes, cars, being cool, etc., seems to indicate that poverty-adapted youngsters are influenced by the dominant culture.

Poverty youngsters have numerous other contacts, often unpleasant ones, with other disseminators of non-poverty values: e.g., the school. They may rebel against the standards that define them as failures (Cohen, 1955) or seek to develop alternate means of achieving economic success (Merton, 1957, pages 131 to 140, and Cloward, 1959, pages 164 to 176).

In any case, their partial acceptance of the dominant success-oriented culture is suggested by these studies and indicates they are involved in a double approach-avoidance conflict with respect to the poverty way of life and the success-oriented, non-poverty culture. If this is correct, then programs that seek to free youngsters from the constraints imposed by a poverty-adapted personality have only to shift the balance of the forces in this conflict rather than to reshape or create a different personality de novo.

The strategy of breaking the cycle thus becomes one of reducing the valences toward accepting poverty and increasing the aversion to it. Simultaneously, the valences toward the non-poverty way of life need to be increased and the aversion to the non-poverty way of life decreased. Some of these valences include the following:

POVERTY-ACCEPTING VALENCES

1. Some of the short-term satisfactions of poverty, such as emphasis on immediate gratification and hedonism, which are not so readily or openly available in non-poverty systems.
2. Reference and membership groups which may function to insulate one from a sense of failure.
3. Freedom from postponement of gratification for the sake of long-term goals and the concomitant risk of failure to attain these goals.

POVERTY-REJECTING VALENCES

1. Defining oneself as a failure by non-poverty standards.
2. Eventual satiation with hedonism and the limited pleasures of short-term goals.

3. Lack of material satisfactions or rewards.

4. Impediments to self-actualization.

5. Isolation of conflicted individuals by poverty membership groups. Those who are ambivalent about poverty may be isolated from the poverty milieu and seek acceptance in a non-poverty milieu.

NON-POVERTY ACCEPTING VALENCES

1. Economic success.

2. Personal success and achievement according to non-poverty standards.

3. Self-actualization.

4. Greater personal freedom.

5. Acceptance in non-poverty culture.

NON-POVERTY REJECTING VALENCES

1. Failures in attempts to break poverty cycle.

2. Anticipated and realistic rejection on the basis of ethnocentric success-oriented standards, for lack of preparation for non-poverty life, e.g., skills, education, values, demeanor, clothes, et

3. Rejection by the reference group of the non-poor.

Summarizing the above assumptions about poverty-perpetuating characteristics and the theoretical rationale for the proposed summer camp and follow-up program, the following propositions are presented:

1. A poverty individual's attitudes, motivations, interpersonal skills, work habits, cognitive styles, etc., are aspects of personality which are relevant to and have an individual etiology; mainly, those of the poverty cycle.

2. These aspects of personality are among those which are

most responsive to ongoing influences in the social milieux, as mediated by the individual's reference and membership groups.

3. Poverty-adapted individuals have dual membership (real or imagined) in both the poverty and non-poverty systems, and this creates a double approach-avoidance conflict about these systems.

4. The nature of the countervailing forces of this conflict are such that the critical factors which affect the areas of personality that are relevant to accepting poverty result in a balance that is to various degrees weighted toward accepting the poverty-perpetuating life.

5. For those who are involved in a precarious double approach-avoidance conflict, the imposition of new social influences can be sufficient to shift the net balance of valences in this conflict.

6. The changes that are induced during the camp experience must be sustained and augmented in the year-round follow-up program. This combined program can provide the individual with the necessary reference and membership groups while insulating him from poverty-perpetuating influences and the debilitating effects of poverty life.

7. The camp experience occurs at the formative age of 12 to 16 years, or adolescence, while the individual is still amenable to change and before what may be critical and irreversible decisions are made.

In summary, then, the theoretically derived strategy for breaking the poverty cycle is to reduce the appeal of poverty while increasing its aversive aspects. Simultaneously, the appeal of the non-poverty life is enhanced while barriers to it or aversive aspects of it are minimized.

ASSUMPTION 10: Closely related to assumption 9, the hypothesized double approach-avoidance conflict, is the receptivity of the individual to intervention in this conflict. Even when one is immersed in a new environment, a vast number of defense mechanisms or, in systems terms, boundary resistance, such as denial, rationalization, selective inattention, etc., can filter out the influences of that environment and prevent new information from crossing the boundary. Only when the individual is receptive to new influences and information are they likely to be internalized. Kellman (1961) described the receptivity of the individual as regards internalization of attitude changes as follows:

> . . . internalization can be said to occur when an individual accepts the influence because induced behavior is congruent with his value system. It is the context of the induced behavior that is intrinsically rewarding here. The individual adopts it because he finds it useful for the solution of a problem or because it is congenial to his own orientation or because it is demanded by his own values--in short, because he perceives it as inherently conducive to the maximization of his values. The characteristics of the influencing agent do play an important role in internalization, but the crucial dimension here as we shall see below is the agent's credibility, that is, his relation to the content.

This discussion of receptivity to changes in attitudes would also apply to the other poverty-perpetuating characteristics, such as cognitive skills, motivations, interpersonal skills, etc. A program must therefore identify and address itself to the individual's unique areas of receptivity and, insofar as possible, must try to maximize the relevance of the new social milieu in terms of the individual's unique constellation of traits and needs. There are, of course, a limited number of such individually tailored milieux--that is, treatment plans--that are compatible and feasible within one social system.

The above psychological aspects of the poverty cycle have as counterparts, on the opposite side of the coin, the poverty milieu. A look at this other side of the coin will be useful in devising a counter- or non-poverty milieu.

Poverty milieux have been studied and are characterized in a variety of ways, e.g., Lewis' study of The Culture of Poverty (1965). Poverty milieux may also be characterized as lacking in economic opportunity and as frustrating the pursuit of long-term goals. They thus encourage a belief in quick, magical solutions. Life is also marked by a variety of economically-induced crimes and chronic educational, legal, medical, emotional, and family problems. These in turn lead to brittle, unstable, and often antagonistic, interpersonal relations.

In contrast, the therapeutic milieu or social system which the model seeks to create is one in which the individual is treated in a personalized way and one in which the staff are aware of the individual's unique needs, current situation, potential for personal development, upward mobility, etc. The milieu strives to be coherent, structured, and, ideally, to provide satisfactions. In short, it seeks to provide a bridge or stepping stone between the relatively unrewarding poverty world and the relatively more rewarding (by non-poverty standards) non-poverty world.

The following strategies, techniques, and assumptions are also inputs into the model social system. With regard to the assumptions, the model has been influenced by the work of Glasser and his work on Reality Therapy (1965).

1) The individual is responded to primarily on a behavioral level with few inferences made initially about underlying psycho-

dynamics. To ensure this, staff are not provided with secondhand information about new campers, e.g., clinical case histories, probation reports, reports from various agencies. This type of information is avoided to minimize the chances of unwittingly responding to the individual in terms of "professional knowledge" about him, rather than in terms of the way he is currently behaving.

Prior to coming to camp, the camper makes an explicit commitment to work 20 hours a week on the work projects, to participate in the group meetings, and to accept the routine of the camp. A visit is arranged prior to camp so that this commitment can be made on the basis of firsthand experience. In camp, he is then held responsible for these commitments through the use of reality therapy techniques. Where this proves difficult, he is helped with problems that interfere with his meeting them, such as poor work habits, difficulty working with others, etc. Failing this, he may renegotiate them so as to be more realistic. In all cases, though, he is held to mutually agreed-upon commitments. His behavior in regard to these commitments is the initial basis for staff response to him.

2) Behavior modification techniques are employed and behavior which is in keeping with therapeutic goals is rewarded; behavior that does not conform to non-poverty norms is either neglected or mildly negatively reinforced.

3) While the focus of the everyday interaction is current behavior, it is assumed that individuals do have feelings, that at times they are conflicted and overwhelmed by them, and (reality therapy aside) that there is unconscious motivation, conflict, etc. Where appropriate, the staff use techniques described in Rogers' (1951) work on client centered therapy. Without making interpretations

about the latent or unconscious meaning of a situation, staff simply reflect back to the individual that he is angry, disappointed, or whatever, in order to help him clarify his feelings.

These three techniques seek to promote self-reliance, i.e., the individual's ability to manage his own behavior and to keep his commitments. This is the major thrust of the specifically therapeutic effort and reflects the general philosophy of the model: that the individual _is_ capable of controlling his own actions and effectively mastering situations.

4) At times, individuals may be overwhelmed by their emotions and anxieties so that they over-react in a situation that may or may not be appropriate. When possible and useful, marginal interviews with the individual are used. Bettelheim (1950, page 35) describes the marginal interview as:

> . . . a conversation between the participant observer and one or more of the participants. It is interpretative in character but does not need to interfere with the momentary activity of the group or the individual. The purpose may be to clear up an anxiety that interferes with enjoyment or participation in the activity, or it may be to warn the child of an unavoidable outcome of his behavior that he does not seem to foresee. The talk may simply help him to understand the reasons for his action, or explain a piece of behavior in another individual that seems to have been misunderstood, etc. One characteristic of this type of marginal conversation is that while it may cause the change of events, or the child's view of them, it does not replace the action; the emphasis is rather on their continuing without unnecessary interference. It should rather clear the blocked channels of solitary activity or social interaction, but never take their place.
>
> In this sense it is ego-supporting because it bolsters the ego in continuing the now more reality-correct activity. It does service for the child as in a better integrated child, his own ego would serve him.

5) At times, individuals may reach an emotional impasse which cannot be worked through with the previously described therapeutic

techniques. At such times, a staff member may provide more formal short-term therapy. This may be related to such crises as a death in the family, difficulties at home, leaving school, or formulating plans for the future.

6) Beyond these techniques, the closeness and the friendliness of relationships with staff may preclude more intensive or psychoanalytic therapy. Where more intensive psychiatric care is required, the staff refer individuals to clinics, hospitals, psychiatrists, psychotherapists, etc. The program's connection with various agencie provides campers with access to long-term treatment.

These ideas, strategies, and techniques are used intensively in the summer camp program but also throughout the year in the follow-up program. In general, they emphasize current behavior, commitments and a structure which helps individuals to become more effective in managing their lives.

Another important area of inputs or assumptions concerns the participants in a residential treatment setting:

1) The major assumption of this model is the de facto importance of peer group influence in achieving therapeutic goals; . i.e., it is assumed that social or interpersonal influence is the essence of residential treatment and that the therapeutic goals are best achieved when both individuals and the group actively support these goals. It is therefore critical that group support of these goals be obtained.

2) Closely related to the importance of peer groups is the assumption that the individuals are capable and that both they and the program can benefit from active participation in governing the program. Giving campers an active "non-token" role in governing the

camp is intended to make them partners in the therapeutic community rather than passive and subservient clients. It is assumed that individuals are to some degree aware of their difficulties and everyday problems and that they are capable of learning new ways of dealing with them.

3) It is assumed that poverty-perpetuating psychological traits such as impulsiveness, free-floating hostility, poor managerial skills poor work habits, etc., tend to be group-anchored. As such, they are best changed in a group approach; namely, by involving the individual in a counter-poverty group.

4) A trusting, egalitarian relationship is considered necessary for achieving therapeutic goals. The staff scrupulously avoid the role of adversary, as professionals are often perceived, and seek to gain the cooperation and confidence essential to getting individual and group support of goals. The line between being an adversary and "pushing" clients to change in a non-threatening way is a fine one, but such "pushing" of individuals can more readily be made non-threatening in the context of a relationship of mutual trust and confidence.

5) Adolescents are leery of verbal encounters with adults. In an argument or discussion, relatively non-verbal youngsters are likely to feel intimidated and be out-maneuvered by more facile and verbal adults, and thus are realistically more likely to lose irrespective of the facts or the truth of the matter. It is assumed that non-verbal approaches to establishing rapport and developing relationships are helpful. Only when rapport is established and trusting relationships develop can effective mutual discussion and verbal problem-solving between staff and clients begin. In short, such

rapport is a prerequisite to providing effective help, and premature verbal efforts are likely to cast the staff in the role of adversary. The program is specifically structured to facilitate the development of trusting, potentially therapeutic relationships.

6) Giving a decision-making responsibility to a group of adolescents poses a risk that is more apparent than real. Group problem-solving tends to be a balancing-out or compromise process and usually provides realistic and feasible solutions. When solutions are not feasible, quick feed-back can usually be quickly provided and mid-course corrections made to minimize the down-side risks of group decisions. A group discussion of discipline, camp policy, or planning of projects involves the campers in the program and provides an opportunity to teach interpersonal and managerial skills, consequential thinking, etc. Group discussion is also designed to gain group support for therapeutic goals. It is often difficult for more aggressive adult professional staff to accept campers in such an active role and the group approach to decision-making provides a safety check on the power of adults who may be inclined, on the basis of their "experience" or "judgment," to impose their own decision.

7) It is assumed that internalization of social influence takes place most readily when the individual learns for himself from an immediate, concrete situation. That is, certain work habits, motivations, techniques of resolving conflicts are best learned when they are elicited from a situation in which the individual is involved, rather than being taught or lectured by an adult. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the staff to try to place individuals in situations where they can learn. Furthermore, internalization is enhanced when what is learned is positively reinforced and proves instrumental

in achieving personal goals; e.g., learning skills which increase one's work or educational opportunities.

8) It is vital that campers be matched to the program, because no program can be all things to all clients. A program that may be potentially effective for some can be rendered ineffective because of a mismatching. One way of matching clients and program is to allow the process of self-selection to work. Individuals can be exposed to the program and participate in it on a trial basis. This can be accomplished be a weekend camping trip where the individual works on the project and experiences it firsthand. Self-selection assumes that individuals know what will be a beneficial experience for them and that this knowledge can provide a more accurate basis for matching than paper and pencil tests. Furthermore, creating a certain amount of selective difficulty in getting into the program can improve the accuracy of matching on the basis of self-selection, depending on the needs of the program and the kinds and numbers of people for whom it is designed.

For example, if the individual shows an interest in coming to a rural work camp away from the city, it may indicate that he is at least ambivalent about his city, neighborhood, opportunities, friends, or even family, which would be prima facie evidence that he is involved in the hypothesized double approach-avoidance conflict. Once the individual is accepted into the program, commitments are made (in terms of the concepts of reality therapy) to participate in the work projects and the evening meetings. These commitments are based on a realistic examination, trial participation in the program.

9) An equally important input for the camp is recruiting staff who are willing and able to enact the prescribed role of staff. This

entails living in a residential setting for 24 hours a day and working in the year-round follow-up program. They must be capable of identifying and reinforcing prescribed behavior such as keeping commitments, good work habits, resolving conflicts in evening meetings, etc., in terms of both behavior modification and reality therapy. Ideally, staff should be able to utilize the entire range of therapeutic techniques, but minimally must be able to usa the techniques of reality therapy and behavior modification.

Staff must also be able to establish relationships with the camp ers as a prerequisite to becoming influential in their lives, and this requires that they be free from ethnocentrism and possess the ability to lead unobtrusively, etc. (See Chapter Seven on Staff.)

A process of self-selection is also utilized in recruiting staff. Eventually, staff are recruited from the ranks of returning campers in a "new careers" type Junior Counselor program, which is described in Chapter Five.

10) An important input of this system is experience in effective problem-solving. The conflicts inherent in group living and inherent in the components of this model may be regarded as inputs in the sense that they provide opportunities for teaching desired skills, such as conflict-resolution. The work projects, such as clearing land and building houses, bring people together and generate conflicts which must be resolved.

A second, and similar input is the assimilation of "unsocialized" or new recruits. In assimilating new recruits, the group can reinforc its non-poverty norms and in so doing enhance group solidarity.

For the system to function, these two sources of conflict must manageable. Specifically, projects must be both feasible and sufficiently satisfying to provide the desired learning experience. Secondly, the number and difficulties (in terms of camp norms) of new recruits must be in an appropriate ratio to old campers and they must be amenable to the social influences of the program in order to assure that they are socialized to it. Twenty percent of new campers of moderate difficulty seem to be an optimal ratio.

These, then, are the major inputs or assumptions in the model camp. The processing of these inputs can best be described in terms of the variety of goals which characterize the proposed system.

GOALS OF THE MODEL

The primary goal of the proposed model is the therapeutic one of changing specific poverty-perpetuating psychological characteristics s as to facilitate the self-actualization of the individual by freeing him from the psychological constraints imposed by his adaptation to poverty and from the constraints of the poverty milieu itself. This primary goal may be described as therapy and/or socialization. In this case, the distinction is somewhat arbitrary since children and adolescents in residential treatment programs are simultaneously undergoing both socialization to adult roles and treatment.

From either perspective, changes are induced and sustained by group-mediated social influence. The treatment might be described as a stepping-stone socialization from poverty to non-poverty milieux. The creation of a group with non- or counter-poverty norms is a proximal goal of the system.[3]

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3. Inevitably, a detailed analysis of the therapeutic milieu, which is in essence an example of social engineering, implies that the individual is passive to social influence. This proposed model is explicit in its use of social influence. The ethical problem for those who are aware of the dangers inherent in such manipula-

It is assumed that by participating in this group, psychological characteristics will change in the direction of those which are more adaptive to the non-poverty world and that these changes will be supported and sustained by the group through the formative and important adolescent years.

A proximal goal which is crucial to both the camp and the follow-up program is the development of salient and trusting relationships between the staff and the campers. The residential components of the model are specifically designed to enhance the process of developing relationships. The intimacy of the residential experience itself forces individuals to develop relationships. The ease with which conflicts are avoided in an open-ended community program is not characteristic of the isolated and relatively closed system of a summer camp. If a person is angry or anxious about some incident, he is more able to avoid resolving it in a more open system by simply not showing up for a few weeks until the incident is forgotten or at least muted. While such avoidance of conflict may work it is likely to leave him with the feeling that his acceptance in the group is contingent on good behavior and is thus precarious. In the closed system, the individual is under pressure to resolve the conflict with other group members because he must live with the consequences of his action. Once this is resolved, his acceptance by the group is experienced as more secure. Tested, trusting relationships are necessary

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tions, is largely a question of being candid about the manipulations and their purpose, which, in this instance, is to counter negative, destructive social influences in the poverty milieu. Individuals are probably just as manipulated and influenced by the environment in their everyday lives. In the case of the program safeguards are built in with freedom of choice, self-selection, and involvement of campers in all decision making, et for the program, and particularly for the follow-up community program, to be helpful and influential.

The other goals which might be included in the model are research activities and an in-service training program for the staff.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS OR SUBSYSTEMS

The next four sections will seek to delineate the particularized means for achieving these goals. While the program is best understood as an integrated whole, it will, for analytic purposes, be discussed in terms of its four major components: the work program, the evening meetings, the Junior Counselor program, and the follow-up program. These four components contribute in different ways to the overall effectiveness of the program.

Cartwright (1951) in his paper, "Achieving Changes in Attitude: The Application of Group Dynamics Techniques," described the criteria necessary for a group to be effective in changing attitudes. These criteria are relevant to this model as they characterize the camp group for the changing attitudes and other poverty-perpetuating characteristics, such as consequential thinking, impulsiveness, interpersonal skills, passivity, etc. The criteria suggested by Cartwright are as follows:

1) Members must have a strong sense of belonging to the group.
2) Members must consider the group attractive.
3) The more relevant the group to the attitudes to be changed, then the greater the change in those attitudes.
4) The group should be prestigeful to the members.
5) The group should resist change toward deviant attitudes.
6) Members of the group need to share the perception that the changes of attitudes are desirable.
7) Information regarding the changes of attitudes and its consequences should be shared by relevant members of the group.
8) Changes in parts of the group create strains which need to be eliminated or dealt with by a realigning of the parts of the group.

For the most part these conditions do obtain, making this source of influence effective. 247

1. THE WORK PROGRAM[4]

When a youngster commits himself to work 20 hours a week he is, by design, enmeshing himself in a set of inevitable experiences which will involve him in a therapeutic group and expose him to therapeutic social influences. Work projects have included building houses, clearing land, maintaining roads, and building tent platforms, and these entailed skills in carpentry, masonry, forestry, and plumbing, etc. These projects were very explicitly described to campers prior to camp, and they were discussed in detail in terms of the skills required, the reasons for the projects, and the schedule of activitie required. Campers chose daily which projects they wanted to work on in order to maximize the value of the project in terms of their own interests, the people they would work with, and skills which could be developed.

The work projects are not intended primarily to teach specific technical skills; this would often be premature for many campers as young as 13 and 14. They do provide exposure to different types of skills which in subsequent years can be followed up by more specific training, but the primary function of the work projects is to enmesh the individual camper in a therapeutic experience which situationally evokes relationships, behaviors, attitudes, and skills relevant to breaking the poverty cycle.

The following are some of the characteristics of these work experiences and the relation of these projects to the general and specific therapeutic goals:

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[4] A detailed description of the different aspects of the program and their rationale and evaluation is presented in the chapters on The Work Program, Evening Meetings, Junior Counselor Program The Follow-up Program, and Staff Relations (Chapters Three, Fou Five, Six, and Seven respectively).

1. Work offers a relatively non-threatening, superordinant goal; that is, projects in which staff and campers work together provide goals which engender cooperation, group cohesion, and working relationships between the campers and staff which are prerequisite to developing therapeutic relationships.

2. Work projects provide non-verbal means of establishing rapport and circumvent the frequently inappropriate and often threatening verbal and "professionally" oriented approach, which is often counter-productive with poverty adolescents.

3. Participation in working 20 hours a week provides the specifics for holding campers to their commitments, that is, involving them in reality therapy. Of all the commitments which the adolescent might make, work is probably one of the less threatening. Commitments to doing one's homework, for example, might prove more anxiety-provoking, too demanding, and thus counter-productive.

4. Working with others provides the grist for therapeutic discussion and problem-solving. In the way that the neutrality of psychoanalytic relationships is designed to highlight inappropriate or over-determined behavior by evoking transference, work projects are designed to expose poor attitudes and work habits, interpersonal difficulties, impulsiveness, a lack of consequential thinking, and poor managerial skills. Involvement in a day-to-day work project exposes and makes appropriate for discussion these areas of therapeutic concern. In short, work projects provide acceptable, concrete, and immediate situations for discussion of areas of therapeutic concern, and for experience in situational problem-solving.

5. Work is concrete, specific, visible, and made as intrinsically rewarding as possible. Positive experiences in both the long

and short run are provided by work. Work projects are concrete learning experiences, which are tailored to the individual's needs and provide opportunities for encouragement, praise, and a sense of accomplishment.

Behavior which comprises good work habits, that is, positive attitudes, cooperation, perseverance, initiative, and consequential thinking can be rewarded and learned in immediate and realistic situations.

6. Working in camp projects is presented as the way in which campers earn their camp fees. This takes the camp experience out of the context of a dole and minimizes the resentment often evoked by such charity. Earning the fee is designed to provide a basis for making a camper's relationship to the program an appropriately businesslike proposition. For example, a camper can rightfully say, "I agreed to work and I have earned the right to go on more trips," etc. Such a relationship builds in opportunities to teach campers how to negotiate effectively with those in power, which is a very poverty-relevant skill.

7. Such work tends to be a masculine activity and provides a basis for masculine identification, while providing an opportunity to boost one's self-esteem and sense of competence. Opportunities for such experiences and rewards are relatively scarce in the poverty milieu where the rewards of being cool, slick, tough, and exploitive in relationships are emphasized beyond their long- and perhaps even short-term potential to satisfy the individual.

In order to enhance the value of work in terms of the individual's self-actualization and self-esteem, work must be tailored to the skills, capabilities, and level of functioning of the campers. Projects must be neither too difficult nor too easy. They must be both challenging and manageable to be learning experiences.

A good example of a work project for the new and younger camper is building his own tent platform. It is relatively simple to build and even if the project goes poorly, the consequences are minor. In this particular project, boys must jointly select the site, make plans for getting the material to the site, divide the tasks, endure one another's mistakes, ask for help when necessary, and cooperate in the building, which may take several days. Other work projects are similarly designed.

2. THE EVENING MEETINGS

Each evening after dinner, campers and staff participate in the evening meeting in which information about the events of the day is exchanged, people are held accountable for their behavior, conflicts are discussed and resolved, and, most importantly, where decisions are made about group affairs, e.g., discipline, policy matters, proposed trips, work projects, etc. In short, the governing of camp affairs takes place in these meetings.

Throughout the year, meetings are held in order to plan follow-up activities, to make decisions about new campers and staff, and to plan the forthcoming summer. While the involvement of campers in the governing of camp affairs is most visible in the more formal nightly evening meetings, it also occurs on the work projects, over coffee, and in private discussions, etc. The evening meetings and the "democratization" of the program in general is designed to be an integral and indispensable part of the program and treatment strategy.

New campers are typically taciturn and aloof, and the meetings have a forced quality about them, with many "I don't knows," "I don't care," "Do what you want," etc. Intrinsically, however, the meetings are engaging affairs which cover a wide range of topics and sooner or later become important to almost everyone. Individuals are frequently called upon to explain their side of conflicts and brief answers do not suffice. On occasion, the meetings go beyond discussions of camp affairs and become discussions of personal problems. They regularly evolve over the summer into being lively, exciting affairs where verbal expression is given to the accomplishments, conflicts, and problems of the program. Throughout camp, but most visibly in these meetings, one can observe the processes of decision-making, communication, accountability, coordination of activities, staff support, and monitoring of the program.[5] The following are some of the functions of the meetings as they relate to the program goals:

1. First and foremost, the evening meeting is a problem-solving session for the group and for individuals. These problems include interpersonal conflicts, discipline, group morale, assimilation of new recruits, and planning and implementing work projects. These discussions are a means of developing self-control, consequential thinking, and managerial skills by providing the participants with experience in using more effective problem-solving techniques. These problem-solving techniques help youngsters to learn more effective ways of handling situations as an alternative to the techniques of fighting, arguing, and avoidance.

2. Evening meetings are important to gain acceptance of group decisions. Campers are more willing to abide by decisions in which they have participated in the airing of the problem, examining the

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[5] For a full discussion of the processes, see Chapter Eight on Generalizable Model for Program Evaluation.

various alternatives, and reaching a democratically derived solution. Such group acceptance is especially important when everyone lives in a closed system with both the problem and its solution. In the meetings, decisions are taken out of the context of adult-imposed fiats and become needed working solutions. This lessens the need for staff control because individuals then "want to do what they need to do" (Fromm, 1951), and thus provide staff support. Democratization of decision-making enhances the salience of the group with regard to its being a change agent, according to Cartwright's (1951) previously discussed criteria.

3. As a matter of policy, a strong stand was taken against "duking," or the "ranking system," which is essentially the establishment of the pecking order in which the older and stronger boys rule the roost. Physical fighting was not allowed and was grounds for being dismissed from the program. Alien as this was to the campers' background, it was felt important to avoid physical intimidation and coercion, which would undermine, if not destroy, the vital democratization of the program.

Fighting is a topic about which almost everybody is ambivalent and anxious. One need only talk to a boy who has moved to a new school or a new block to know how tyrannizing this system is. Negative as it is, however, it does provide a known, unambiguous, and authoritarian structure where everybody knows his place and the behavior required of him. When deprived of this structure and confronted with the uncertainty and novelty of democracy, individuals often become anxious and resistant. The evening meetings and the democratic problem-solving provide the necessary alternative means for resolving conflicts and providing social control. Difficult as the alternative is to implement, it is a necessary prerequisite to establishing the identity of the group as distinct from life in the "duking" system and by implication poverty-perpetuating peer groups.

3. THE JUNIOR COUNSELOR PROGRAM

The model includes a Junior Counselor program designed to maintain the involvement of older campers, to provide appropriate staff for the camp, and to offer "new careers-" type training. The Junior Counselor training program seeks to provide staff who are compatible with the model, have a working understanding of it, and in whose self interest it is to make a long-term commitment to the camp and follow-up program.

When an adult is hired, he is frequently given, because of his status as an adult, considerable responsibility which may or may not be commensurate with his unique skills, personality, or commitment. Even trial visits and stress interviews are necessarily inadequate means of assessing his overall competence and assigning responsibilities accordingly. In contrast to this, the would-be Junior Counselor is better known, having been observed in a variety of situations over the years. This improved screening makes possible more than an educated guess about his abilities. And thus he can be given responsibilities which are known to be commensurate with his particular skills, judgment, and level of maturity. This greatly enhances his effectiveness while minimizing the disruption and difficulties inherent in giving inappropriate responsibilities to relatively unknown adult staf

Staff training is probably more effective when it is personalized and can be spread over the teenage years, rather than attempted in a crash program for adults who are likely to be relative "strangers."

One can only expect to minimize the downside risks of hiring poor staff. Even with the more accurate screening of the Junior Counselor program, mistakes still occur. In the case of mistakes involving an adult, however, one is faced with the agonizing decision of whether to fire him and live with the consequences of that disruption or keep him and try to provide support and supervision. Supervision, unhappily at times, borders on psychotherapy, which is time-consuming, inappropriate and, as it should be, resisted by staff. In contrast to this, the close supervision possible in a residential program is, potentially at least, therapeutic to the Junior Counselor, even though he may not become a "new careerist." During the more formative adolescent years, such supervision can be a therapeutic experience, since it entails helping the Junior Counselor with problems of authority, in asserting himself, and in developing interpersonal skills, etc. The time and effort invested in his supervision has at least a greater potential as a therapeutic experience.

In terms of social influence, Junior Counselors can function as a more effective role model for youngsters because of their similar background, which enhances both their credibility and that of the group. The rationale and evaluation and experiences with the Junior Counselor program is described fully in the Chapter on The Junior Counselor Program.

4. THE FOLLOW-UP PROGRAM.

The residential experience of the summer camp is intended to make possible a more effective follow-up program by providing a counter- or non-poverty reference and membership group throughout the adolescent years. The time and effort prerequisite to developing these relationships is made most effective in a relatively closed system away from the distracting and diluting influences of the city.

The follow-up program sustains the group throughout the year with such activities as basketball at a gym, camping trips, parties, and various work projects. While recreation per se may be of negligible therapeutic value, it does provide an opportunity to maintain group support Social influence theory suggests ways to maximize this support. For example, more social influence or support can be brought to bear when two people are bowling and eight sit and talk, than when ten sit in relative isolation watching a movie.

It was assumed that the harshness of the poverty environment, in combination with the dearth of opportunities, is the major cause for the cycle of poverty. Given poor schools, inadequate medical care, high crime rates, drugs, and often negative and demeaning encounters with social agencies, individuals are debilitated simply in terms of having the energy, ability, and hope to cope with the environment, let alone having even a minimal chance of breaking the poverty cycle. While a small program is impotent politically, at least in terms of changing environmental factors, it can help individuals cope with these factors and mitigate their impact. Poverty individuals for various reasons often do not have access to or use the meager services available to them because they are often intimidated and turned away by their inhospitable and/or ethnocentric reception. Because of their prior relationships with campers, the camp staff are more able to advocate with regard to the campers' numerous educational, legal, medical, psychiatric, and family problems, etc. In addition to being able to negotiate with these systems on behalf of the clients, the program has developed a network of contacts and supportive services which is useful and more assessable.

The credibility and relationships developed in the camp also make feasible year-round follow-up work projects; e.g., tutoring elementary school youngsters, apartment cleaning, and a variety of community service programs. The organizing, planning, resolving of conflicts, and supervising of these urban projects might be precluded in the absence of previously established effective working relationships.

In summary, the model is characterized by a high degree of structure with the expectation and responsibilities of the participant clearly delineated. However, its lack of ambiguity and its structure does not preclude flexibility. Within a well-defined structured situation, individuals are free to make their own choices and to propose alternative activities, work projects, etc. This structure is designed to highlight and to make dysfunctional poverty-perpetuating traits, while evoking more adaptive traits. Permissiveness and its often inherent ambiguities and propensity toward chaos was avoided because it is often construed as neglect and responded to accordingly. A more permissive atmosphere may be suited to individuals coming from a constrained and rigid system who need freedom to be spontaneous and to explore and develop their own interests. Such an environment was considered inappropriate, if not destructive, for many poverty-adapted youngsters because they lacked the inner resources to take advantage of it. In order to provide opportunities for creativity, spontaneity, etc., open-ended opportunities for changing the program, for negotiating and renegotiating commitments, and for just having fun were available.

INTRAMURAL PROCESSES OR FUNCTIONAL PREREQUISITES

Intramural processes occur within a small, democratic group, which interacts frequently and intimately and consequently does not need formalized channels of communication or a hierarchical structure for accountability, decision-making, and coordinating of activities. The processes of communication, accountability, decision-making, monitoring, and the coordinating of activities occur most conspicuously and frequently in the evening meetings. The self-governing of the group requires that the functional prerequisites be met; i.e., that people communicate, make decisions, hold others accountable, and enforce norms.

Accountability or social control is achieved partly by motivating the campers to want to enforce camp norms. The ways in which individuals are motivated to be self-regulating, cooperative, etc., are described in the model. Voluntary self-regulation lessens the role of the staff and provides support to the staff. By implication, the way in which individuals are motivated to enforce camp norms is the way in which the functional prerequisites are finally achieved; that is, with the exception of the process of internalization.

THE PROCESSES OF INTERNALIZATION

The attempt was made to devise a social structure which would engender a social milieu designed to evoke and support non-poverty-adaptive skills, motivations, attitudes, etc. In order that these new traits and ways of behavior become internalized, it was suggested that the group be kept together in a year-round follow-up program.

The next question that is immediately raised concerns the little-understood process of internalization, i.e., if being immersed in this non-poverty group leads to changes, can these changes be more permanent than temporary adaptation to any other environment? What are the mechanisms of internalization by which changes become functionally autonomous? (Allport, 1967.) Partial answers to these questions are

are suggested by the following propositions:

(1) Learning theory proposes that people learn, that is, internalize a history of reinforcement--and that once certain behavior has been positively reinforced, it will tend to recur as the individuals seek out the reinforcement. Thus, the more rewarding (in terms of the schedule and nature of reinforcement) that non-poverty behavior becomes, the more the individual will tend to seek out such rewards. In short, a propensity--i.e., reinforcement history--will become internalized.

(2) Participation in all phases of decision-making helps the individual see the context of the factors leading to a specific problem and decision. He thus tends to accept, which may mean internalize, decisions in which he has participated; that is, once he has perceived the problem, examined the evidence, explored alternative solutions, assigned priorities, and sought the acceptance of others for that decision.

(3) Situational learning lends itself to internalization because of the way it evokes the active participation of the person while simultaneously avoiding the often negative effects of an outside teacher. People tend to believe, i.e., internalize, conclusions based on their own examination of the situation, marshalling of evidence, and drawing of conclusions. In other words, people tend to believe what they have discovered for themselves.

(4) Identification is a process in which youngsters, including adolescents, tend to model themselves after adults or significant others and to take on their characteristic behavior, values, habits, demeanor, philosophies, Weltanschauung, etc. The exposure of 13-15 year-old campers, many of whom have had relatively few significant

others, to competent, accepting staff facilitates the internalization of non-poverty values which these models espouse.

(5) Closely related to the process of identification is that of socialization for adult roles. Poverty-related traits, such as work habits, consequential thinking, impulse control, etc., tend to be traits learned after infancy and childhood. Thus, socialization over adolescent years in the program can be regarded as an instance of internalization.

On the basis of these ideas, this proposed model assumes that internalization of non-poverty values, behavior, and skills occurs: (1) when the conditions for receptivity or internalization, as discussed by Kellman (1961), obtain; (2) the attributes of the group, as discussed by Cartwright (1951), also obtain; and (3) the new values are instrumental in the life of the individual. These three conditions are maximized in the proposed model, and thus lead to more permanent changes, i.e., internalization.

OUTPUTS

The more tangible, but therapdutically less important, outputs include houses built, land cleared, roads built, food consumed, and monies spent, etc. More important and more difficult to evaluate are the changes in personality traits evoked and sustained in the camp and follow-up program. The primary goal and thus hoped-for output of the model is changes in poverty-perpetuating attitudes, motivations, interpersonal skills, i.e., psychological traits necessary to allow the individual a freedom of choice between a poverty and non-poverty way of life. The participation of an environment free from the constraints of imposed poverty, to the extent to which it provides an intrinsically or existentially satisfying experience during the adolescent years, can bring about these changes, which are then supported by the other vital output, a non-poverty peer group during and over the adolescent years.

An output which does provide important feedback to the program is the effect individuals have on their environments and milieux. While the camp program seeks to insulate individuals from poverty-perpetuating environments, the individual generally returns to that environment and both affects and is affected by it. As a result of the year-round follow-up program we have been able to see how in some instances the program had affected the environment in that campers related differently to it. For example, one youngster complained that even though he wanted to stay out of trouble many of his contacts pushed him back into delinquency. Teachers treated him as if he were still delinquent; girls wouldn't go out with him because of his former behavior; etc.

In the camp he had been helped to deal with these self-fulfilling prophecies through instruction in the art of meta-communicating, i.e., he was instructed to point out to these people how they were pushing him deeper into delinquency and how this contradicted their responsibilities as policemen,,teachers, etc., and was thus a double bind. In this way, he sought to alter the feedback that he was getting from the larger system.

In another instance, a camper was helped to avoid the delinquent influences of his former gang not by telling them of his intention to go straight, which would have generated great social pressure to return to delinquent activities. Instead, it was suggested that he profess a desire to go along on the gang's "capers" but to state that he feared he would endanger the gang because he knew the police were watching him. In this way he affected his milieu. This constitutes a significant output.

Another important output is the altered relations with campers, friends, and family resulting from program-induced changes. Some programs such as Job Corps Centers have deliberately sought to isolate the individual from his family and friends. Programs that seek to drive such a wedge between the client and family on the basis of a priori assumptions about the negative influences of family and friends sometimes find it counter-productive in terms of maintaining the involvement of the individual. Given the inability of the program to compensate for family and friends, and the inherent risks of upward mobility, the individual may with considerable justification opt for retaining the support and alliance of family and friends.

Where youngsters choose to involve family and friends, the model program also seeks to gain their support through a parents' Board of Advisors, family camping trips, and the year-round activities. A change in poverty-perpetuating characteristics on the part of even one family member will have important ramifications for the family, school and community systems which must be considered and dealt with.

Another important output is the education of both the profession staff and the Junior Counselors. The model seeks to provide an opportunity for staff, particularly professional staff, to relate in an intimate and egalitarian way to poverty and/or disturbed youngsters. This experience is intended to improve their professional skills by providing an experience very different from that of more professional ethnocentric, and authoritarian residential and community programs.

Another output is the social psychiatry research conducted in th program.

These, then, are some of the outputs of the model. Some provide feedback for the camp and other systems and some, changes in personalities and the creation of non-poverty groups, provide data for evaluating the program in terms of its achieving its proximal and long-range goals.

THE ROLE OF THE STAFF

When the objective of group support of non-poverty norms is attained, staff responsibility is proportionally reduced. During the implementation of the model, they play a crucial role. It is the responsibility of four or five staff members, with the aid of returning youngsters, to assimilate new participants into the program while ensuring the maintenance of the norms and social structure of the grou Working in a ratio of one staff member to four or five older campers and one new camper, they must effectively carry out their role. Their job is difficult for their success depends more on their personal credibility, persuasiveness, and appeal as a model rather than on structured authority. The fine line between being influential but not authoritarian is essential for establishing relationships that are characterized by mutual trust and concern. To facilitate this, camper are allowed to choose the staff members with whom they want to work, accompany on trips or other activities.

The staff must be able to utilize reality therapy and behavior modification techniques, which entail holding individuals to their commitments, discerning and rewarding good work habits, consequential thinking, and effective conflict resolution; they must know how to disregard or negatively reinforce impulsiveness, uncontrolled aggression, or other poverty-perpetuating traits.

In summary, the role of the staff is to create, maintain, and represent the counter-poverty social milieu in the face of pressure toward entropy, that is the pressure toward chaos, disorganization, and poverty values. They must continually develop working solutions to the pervasive conflicts and dilemmas inherent in residential treatment and community programs. By implication their role has been described in the section on the work program, meetings, Junior Counselor program, and the year-round program. Further discussion of the many difficulties faced by staff is presented in the chapter on role of staff.

THE ROLE OF THE DIRECTOR

The role of the director is to provide and organize and make available the necessary inputs of money, staff, campers, resources, therapeutic assumptions, etc. The director is responsible for holding staff and campers to their commitments to carry out the prescribed roles necessary for achieving and maintaining the model. He must continually monitor the functioning of the program to determine the extent to which the model is being achieved. He may be required to provide feedback for midcourse corrections. His function is, in sum, to oversee and facilitate the processes of communication, accountability, decision-making, and social control. He sets the tone of the organization and is responsible for orchestrating the various activities and components of the model in pursuit of its various goals.

It is the function of the director to create and maintain the previously described non-poverty milieu, and maintain the system and resist the pressures toward entropy, in this case a more poverty-like milieu with its chaos, disorganization, conflicts, and lack of opportunity to learn non-poverty skills. The change toward entropy in the absence of negentropy or system maintenance is described by

Miller (1969). He describes the melting of an ice statue of the patron saint of a Puerto Rican fiesta. In the absence of low temperature, i.e., system maintenance, the statue lost its form as it melted toward water, i.e., its implicit state, i.e., entropy. It is the function of the director to create, monitor, and maintain the therapeutic milieu of the camp and follow-up program.

THE ROLE OF THE CAMPERS

The role of the campers can be delineated in terms of the functioning of the program. The model requires that a sufficient proportion of the campers support the non-poverty norms of the camp. Specifically, they must keep their commitment to work 20 hours a week, participate in governing camp affairs, cooperate in decision-making, etc. The way in which they are motivated to do this, support camp norms, through work projects, evening meetings, and the follow-up program, is described in the model.

Once sufficient numbers of campers accept these norms and their responsibility in enforcing them, then the critical processes of communication, decision-making, accountability, etc., will be assured of occurring because these processes are prerequisite to the group's functioning as a democracy; i.e., the overall democratization of the program ensures that campers will "want to do what they have to do" (Fromm, 1951). Voluntary acceptance and enforcement of camp norms results in monitoring and self-regulation of the systems. When there is less group support, the staff and director must be more assertive in enforcing the non-poverty norms.

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

Few construction projects could compete in terms of inefficiency with the work program of the model. Only when work is viewed as a therapeutic experience is efficiency approached. In terms of therapeutic goals of the program, however, the program from which the model was derived is remarkably inexpensive. The model seeks to capitalize on natural events for therapeutic purposes. The work projects are the core of a therapeutic summer camp and the natural visiting of friends becomes a follow-up program. Thus the building materials double as project supplies, and the labor costs of building the facility are operating expenses of food, shelter, and salaries of the program. In the summer of 1966 in Colorado the camp was built, all supplies including a new truck, and campers and staff expenses for 6 weeks cost about $8,000, not including the cost of land and a director's salary. At the end of the summer a fully-licensed facility for 20 children was built and a salient group of teenagers and staff formed.

The natural tendency of friends to visit can be stimulated by an investment of $2,000 for 20 children, to the point of becoming a follow-up program. No facilities are needed for this program except for those available to the public, such as bowling alleys, parks, or a rented gym. In short, the model requires a modest expenditure of monies for facilities. Other costs are for direct client costs of food, insurance, transportation, etc. Salaries, when the Junior Counselors are utilized, go primarily to the participants. In short, a high proportion of monies is devoted to clients rather than administrative costs, equipment, facilities, and professional salaries, etc.

Time, an important resource, is similarly invested in campers and used efficiently. A brief interlude in the camp is intended to speed up the process of developing credibility and relationships with the clients which is necessary for the follow-up program. In camp, staff time is spent primarily in interactions with the campers. In the case of the Junior Counselors staff time in supervision is more efficiently spent with youngsters rather than adults, as described in the section on the Junior Counselor program.

In summary, a high proportion of the resources of money, time, effort, food, and project supplies--building materials--is devoted to clients rather than professional amenities, bureaucratic costs, and expensive facilities, etc. Both in comparison to other treatment programs and in terms of resources allocated to clients, the model is both inexpensive and efficient and thus highly cost-effective.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROPOSED MODEL

This section analyzes the model and its place in residential treatment programs. Some of the problems relating to implementing the model will also be discussed, as will the model's relevance for breaking the poverty cycle. Finally, the suitability of the model for use in residential programs geared to treat individuals with more personal psychological disorders will be examined.

This model is an example of a generalizable conceptualization of a residential treatment program.[6] It seeks to make explicit the basic ingredients and structural arrangements of all residential treatment programs by utilizing the concepts of input, outputs, goals, roles, sub-systems, and functional prerequisites or processes. It provides a framework which can be utilized for describing or analyzing any residential treatment program. Beyond this, it seeks to make as explicit as possible the rationale, assumptions, and workings of a residential treatment program. Beyond this, it seeks to make as explicit as possible the rationale, assumptions, and workings of a residential treatment and follow-up program specifically designed to help individuals break the poverty cycle.

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[6] For a detailed presentation of the generalizable mofel for delineating, analyzing, i.e., evaluating residential treatment programs for children, see the chapter on program evaluations. This chapter has to a large extent followed that outline and/or covered topics presented in it.

Given an explicit description of a program and its functioning, one can then proceed to evaluate the program in a dual sense. First, one can tell if the program is doing what it purports to do, that is, to what extent does the actual working of the program conform to the model. Second, the model allows one to relate the intramural functioning of the program to the achievement of therapeutic and other goals.

In terms of the functioning of programs, this conceptualization is helpful to program administrators and participants in improving their awareness of the program as an interrelated whole, and to see their tasks as they relate to the whole program. Better clarity of function and goals can only help to improve residential treatment.

Regarding treatment, the model is useful in that it can be used to compare various programs. Cross-program comparisons can provide insight into the nature of milieu therapy.

Turning now to the content of the model, that is, the particular program used as a model, it is of relevance to major trends: residential treatment programs are becoming involved in community-based programs and participants in these programs are having an increasing voice in the governing of program affairs. This particular model emphasizes both these aspects.

The model is especially appropriate for small, diversified, idiosyncratic programs. The numerous efforts being made to revamp large, impersonal, total institutions may not prove feasible. Rather than trying to make these bureaucratic institutions "like home," a better investment might be to increase the numbers of small, diversified programs, which can be tailored more readily to the idiosyncratic needs, goals, and styles of both staff and clients. To be effective, therapeutic relationships are supportive, friendly, and require that the advice of the "therapist" be trusted and accepted. There are many paths to these therapeutic goals, i.e., equifinality, and a small program may allow greater flexibility for staff of differing styles to utilize a variety of means with which they are most "comfortable," i.e., equicausality, to achieve their therapeutic goals.

Doubtless there are many people working in hospitals, residential programs, and State Training Schools who feel cramped and frustrated by the rigidities of uniform, mass-oriented institutions. Doubtless there are those who, like my wife and myself, have thought of starting their own programs but for whom this was impossible for financial and other reasons. The proposed model offers a plan for gradually developing a small residential treatment program. If the organizers and participants start with small facilities suited for rugged outdoor camping, it is possible to develop over the years the facilities, monies, and support necessary for a year-round operation. In this way, a small summer camp and follow-up program could provide the opportunity for individuals to develop their own programs suited to their own needs and "styles." This, in the long run, may be the most efficient approach to residential treatment. Care should be taken in selecting a site and finding support that does not preclude eventual expansion into a group home or a year-round program. Also, it is vital that funding be secured through a source committed to lon term support, which is often regarded as mundane, rather than through seemingly capricious seed-money grants and demonstration projects.

A non-poverty group such as we have described here can be brought about in a variety of ways. In the model, it was suggested that a combination of the work program, evening meetings, follow-up program, and Junior Counselor program, would develop such a group. At any given time during the seven summers of the camp program, one aspect of the program might be more important than another in promoting and developing the group. Originally, in the summer of 1966, the work project was the important factor in creating a viable group. In the summer of 1967, the evening meetings assumed greatest relevancy, while in 1968 the year-round follow-up program was most pertinent to the group.

In implementing the program, problems were encountered which did not occur in subsequent years. The actual building of the projects and the evening meetings were ways to speed up the process of creating salient peer group interaction. At this point also, it was necessary for the staff to take a more active role and to exert more influence in camp affairs. This was facilitated by having the staff work with small groups of youngsters. Once the group is firmly established and secure, staff can be less assertive in maintaining the group. In other words, as the campers began to absorb the new norms of cooperation, non-aggressiveness, etc., the staff can become less obtrusive. This is an important consideration for residential treatment in general. If staff fail to gain the active cooperation or, even worse, if they become the adversaries, of the peer group, their job becomes almost impossible.

Two approaches to a summer camp are possible. In one situation, the summer camp is used to start a year-round program. Campers who initially do not know each other come together, build a summer camp, and then are followed-up throughout the year. In the second situation, an existing program may seek to increase its salience to the participants by developing a summer camp.

These two alternatives offer two different sets of difficulties in implementing the program. In the first, where youngsters do not know one another, a potentially volatile situation exists: the poverty environment's "ranking" system based on who is toughest and strongest will be in effect. The vying for leadership positions may accentuate delinquent norms and authoritarianism, on the part of campers and staff alike, which are counter to the therapeutic norms. One advantage of such a new and fluid situation, however, is that since youngsters do not know one another, they are more open to the imposition of new group norms. Staff can initially be effective in creating different norms to which people are assimilated, instead of the individuals simply reasserting the norms of their poverty reference groups. In the fluidity of such a situation, it is important that there be some project or leadership which will bring the youngsters together around the new goals. For example, building facilities from scratch is a very tangible project which can prove constructive in both the literal and figurative sense.

If the group is comprised of hard-core, delinquent, drug-using youngsters, the problems of imposing non-poverty norms are obviously more difficult than if the group is made up of individuals whose acceptance of the poverty norms is more tenuous. Possibly, questionnaires could be designed to assess the nature of the hypothesized double approach-avoidance conflict or the precariousness of the balance toward accepting the poverty life; or one can allow self-selection to work. We employed this technique in the first year of recruiting campers for the Vermont camp. A documentary movie was shown of the building of the camp. During the course of this movie, the 20 youngsters who started watching began to disappear--some very quickly--at the first sign of work. By the end of the movie, only three or four youngsters remained who did come to camp and who benefited from the program.

One can also control the inputs to the program by accepting individuals who will be easier to work with, who are self-screened, by making it more difficult to get into the program.

In the second approach, one takes a group of youhgsters who already have working relationships with each other and attempt to develop a residential program. Once the group has been established, the numbers of new participants admitted to the group must be monitored so as not to overwhelm the existing group. In Colorado in 1967, a small group of original campers was overwhelmed by a large number of new, delinquent campers. Delinquent norms initially prevailed with the campers jockeying for position, and where there had been friendly and cooperative attitudes among the original campers, they now had to prove their toughness and "rank" others. The evening meetings eventually resolved these conflicts and more non-poverty norms evolved. However, in the summer of 1969, original participants were inundated by new and unassimilated campers with the result that the program broke down: the work program and evening meetings were relatively ineffective and the Junior Counselors powerless.

The percentage of new youngsters that can be assimilated depends, of course, on the predisposition or receptivity of the new participants to non-poverty norms. With not-too-difficult individuals, about 20 percent seems to be a reasonable working number. In fact, the assimilation of new or naive campers may function to strengthen non-poverty norms when returning campers begin to socialize the new recruits to the program: the experienced youngsters proselytize for non-poverty norms and in this way also strengthen their own commitment to these norms.

Where new people are brought in, it is important to introduce them to the group after the original group has been together for a short period of time, during which they can reaffirm their own commitments. It is also suggested that each new person have someone assigned to him as a "buddy" and that the new individuals be dispersed among the more effective and more committed of the older ones. Assimilation of recruits can be facilitated by introducing them to the group during the year-round follow-up program where they can ease into the program. Trial visits and weekend camping trips can also be arranged.

One final, albeit rather unorthodox, technique of assimilating youngsters was hit upon at the Colorado camp, which is located 11,000 feet above sea level. It was found that when the staff got to the camp site several days before the campers, they were acclimated by the time the campers arrived. And the staff discovered that during those initial days, campers were, for lack of oxygen, less resistant and less energetic and thus more receptive to assimilation to both the group and the non-poverty norms.

CRITICISMS OF THE PROPOSED MODEL

The appropriateness of a rural camp setting for urban youngsters has been questioned. Certainly, in terms of job training, rural work may lack relevance. But, then, the purpose of the work projects is not to help the youngsters acquire job skills (although this may indeed occur as a fringe benefit) but to use work as a way of creating group involvement and establishing new norms.

It is intriguing to think about the possibility of this model operating in an urban context: could work projects be found? Could the distracting and negative influences of the city be overcome or avoided? Clearly, such a program ought to be considered.

A much more important criticism of the program, which might be termed a radical or political critique, would be formulated as follows:

Poverty is best understood as ultimately a poverty of political power with the concomitant inability to wrest one's fair share of tax benefits, subsidies, social services, rights, etc. Given political and, hence, economic disenfranchisement, individuals are caught in circumstances beyond their control. This results in the "symptoms" of psychological poverty-perpetuating characteristics.

A psychological or treatment approach to the poverty cycle incorrectly places the blame or the responsibility on the victim of poverty and disregards the true causes. Furthermore, it tends to corroborate the power of the establishment by "treating" or holding the individual responsible. Practically speaking, a few individuals may actually be helped by such treatment but this does little more than put band-aids on what is essentially a social and political problem. Even if programs can be devised which are non-ethnocentric and are not affronts to the cultural heritage of the participants, the psychological approach is ill-conceived and counter-productive to the revolutionary or social change approach which is necessary to change the political conditions that perpetuate poverty. The "treatment" approach may even siphon off and mislead potentially effective leaders of larger-scale social change.

The section on Social Influence can be further criticized as essentially bourgeois. The program is specifically designed to insulate individuals from their communities and to provide a small peer group to support non-poverty or non-community norms. Besides being snobbish, this evades the issue of the need for political change. While this may be so, parents are aware in very real ways of the pernicious nature of community influences. The program admittedly does, in effect, isolate individuals from their community and perhaps lessen that community's chances for large-scale social change.

In summary, while it is feasible to help limited numbers of individuals break the poverty cycle, it is an inefficient approach to the problem and necessarily inappropriate in terms of the etiology of the social conditions. In response to this critique, I would agree that service programs such as the camp program are to a large extent irrelevant to large-scale social change. It seems unlikely, however, that the type of individuals the camp services is likely to either participate in a revolution or to derive any immediate benefits from it. To criticize a service program from a political perspective is thus essentially irrelevant. Turning the argument around, one could ask the social change advocate, "Show me how your revolution will help a schizophrenic mother and an inadequate father with five children, some of whom may be retarded or in need of special attention?" While in the broad sense, a revolution might be helpful in providing resources for this family, in fact, in the immediate sense and probably even in the lifetime of these individuals, it would be essentially irrelevant--unless one is willing to say that the most judicious use of resources is to neglect the wounded and move on with the larger struggle. In that case, it would appear that a service program would neither contribute nor detract from large-scale social change.

Over and above the problems of being poor, are the problems of brain damage, poor health, retardation, emotional disturbance, etc. These are more truly psychological and individualistic in their etiology. The model of the camp and the follow-up program would seem more appropriate in terms of services for such individuals rather than for the poor in general.

In the course of the camp, many of the campers involved in the program would be considered emotionally disturbed or having high psychiatric impairment, including several schizophrenic, retarded, and neurotic campers. While not providing an adequate sample for making estimates about the relevance of the program for them, it seems that it was helpful, if for nothing more than providing a coherent structured experience in which they could maintain a long-term involvement.

The techniques of reality therapy and behavior modification in the proposed model do not preclude other types of therapy. One possibility would be to involve participants in the program in therapy through the year and to provide a residential experience with therapists and patients alike during the summer.

The camp is probably most relevant to sociopathic adolescents and it is these individuals who seem to benefit less from insight types of therapy. It would seem that delinquency, and perhaps drug use, chiefly reflect adaptations to delinquent norms or a social deviance. As such, the social influence of the summer camp may be most appropriate for these youngsters, since typically they do poorly in other types of therapy. Robbins (1966), in her book, Deviant Children Grow Up, has shown, in a 30-year follow-up study that sociopathic youngsters do not tend to burn out as had been suggested, but show chronic histories of anti-social behavior, including frequent arrests, broken families, erratic jobs, drinking, poor credit ratings, poor military service, etc

In comparison to a cohort of normals and of other psychiatric patients, remission of sociopathic behavior seemed rare. The need for treatment of delinquent and sociopathic youngsters was made obvious in this regard. Impulse-ridden youngsters can be considered as much prisoners of their impulses as neurotics are of their inhibitions. Even if social conditions were likely to change, and more opportunities were available, many of these youngsters would be unable to seize on them, and most likely would still require treatment.

In socio-economic and political terms, this model may be irrelevant or, at best, inefficient. In view of the dearth of services for emotionally disturbed adolescents who cannot afford help, however, it has very broad implications. Not only are existing services limited, many are also inappropriate for poverty adolescents because of their ethnocentric approach or their ill-fated commitment of insight therapy. These youngsters, who are the most difficult to treat, have the most limited resources. As such, it would seem that the camp program and similar programs should be devoted toward providing services for these adolescents who, over and above their burdens of poverty and discrimination, have psychological difficulties which can be treated. If we have a commitment to the wounded, that is.

CONCLUSION

After reading what is unavoidably a mind-boggling array of facts, the reader can undoubtedly have a greater understanding of why that counselor didn't make the connection between an intrinsically engaging, exciting, and satisfying experience and an analytic description of the program. Rather than try to summarize the myriad of details, it will suffice to say that the program was described in an open systems perspective with regard to its goals and the particularized means for achieving. Similarly, the supra- and sub-systems and their interrelatedness were presented, as was a description of various roles. Critical or intramural processes and the allocation of resources were described. Particular emphasis was placed on delineating the variety of assumptions or inputs concerning the nature of poverty-perpetuating psychological traits and their relationship to environmental social influence; the role of clients in residential programs; and the nature of therapeutic strategies for impulse-ridden, poverty-adapted youngsters. Finally, outputs were more briefly described, as were some of the implications of the model for breaking the poverty cycle and the treatment of more personal psychological disorders.

The paper is unique in the explicitness with which it sought to delineate a therapeutic milieu and how it is organized to achieve its therapeutic goals. As an analytic description per se it is evaluative, and its explicitness makes it possible to evaluate the program in the sense of determining the congruence between the actual programs and the model. One can evaluate the degree to which the program achieves its proximal goals. Specifically, how often and in what way do staff hold campers to reality therapy commitments or do marginal interviews? Are staff-camper relationships peer-like and cooperative? Does the summer camp generate relationships for the follow-up program as measured by campers' involvement through the year? In short, many empirical measures can be derived from the model to evaluate the degree to which proximal goals are achieved. With appropriate control groups and outcome measures it can also be evaluated vis a vis its long-term therapeutic and other goals. In summary, such an explicit description is helpful if not prerequisite to evaluating the program, in the sense of clarifying the way in which the program is organized and the extent to which it achieves its variety of goals.

The model proposes a program that is unique in the way it seeks to actively involve its clients in all phases of the program. This "democratization" of the program is in marked contrast to the more authoritarian programs where clients are less involved and thus perhaps less influenced by the program. The model is also unique in its attempt to combine a brief residential experience with a community-based program. It seeks to maximize the salience of a residential program while avoiding the disadvantages of long-term institutionalization and isolation from the community. The model makes explicit one approach to developing a program relevant to these two major trends in residential treatment.

One psychologist, commenting on the finding from the evaluative study, remarked that the campers clearly *felt* less powerless, i.e., alienated. I responded that the best way to *feel* powerful is to have real power to control one's life. This sensitivity and responsiveness to the individual and group is inherent in the democratization of the program, which seeks to free the individual from the constraints of the psychological adaptation to imposed poverty. This freeing of the individual or helping him to achieve self-actualization can be likened to how Michelangelo described his sculpting. He said that he did not carve men out of blocks of stone but uncovered them in blocks of stone.

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APPENDIX B

EVALUATING RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR DISTURBED CHILDREN*

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EVALUATING RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR DISTURBED CHILDREN

Each night some 150,000 children and adolescents go to bed in approximately 2,500 child care institutions, of which only about 200 provide treatment. (Pappenfort and Kilpatrick 1968, p. 450, 451). Of these 150,000 children, about 110,000 were judged to be disturbed; of these, only 14,000 or about 13% were receiving treatment. The predominant service modality for those who do receive treatment is inpatient care which is lengthy and costly, with treatment ranging from $500 to $1,500 monthly in private institutions (Redlick, 1969). In the recent epidemiological studies of Langner, et al., (1969), large numbers of children showing marked psychiatric impairment were found in the community, with disproportionate numbers coming from families living on welfare and from low income groups. Where these children find their way into the network of caregivers, they are likely to be disproportionately placed as delinquents in training or reform schools, in homes for the retarded or in adult wards of state hospitals.

While estimates such as the above are necessarily crude at best, it is obvious that there is a critical demand for services in child mental health. In addition to the cost of residential treatment, its capacity to reach only a small percentage of the population, the shortage of trained personnel, and overloaded facilities, there is growing criticism of the theory and practice of residential treatment itself (Maluccio and

The comparative and descriptive studies which we have included in the category of systems evaluations focus on the recurring problems and inherent dilemmas of social systems which seek to both "raise" and "treat" children; e.g., they deal with roles of child care workers or the integration of the "raising" (enculturation) and treatment spheres of residential treatment. Although the distinction between description and analysis of social systems is a fine one, the distinction has been made here according to the extent to which the description relates to the "efficiency" of the residential treatment program's functioning as a social system, its subsystems and its linkages with supra-systems such as the community, family and network of caregivers, etc. The more narrowly descriptive works excluded from the scope of this paper, such as Bettleheim's (1950), Redl and Wineman (195 and others, have been adequately reviewed by Maluccio and Marlow (1972).

As will become evident in the course of this review, our own contention is that systems analyses which evaluate residential treatment programs qua institution or social system are potentially of greater practical and theoretical significance for these programs than the outcome, follow-up, or process evaluation. Following a review of the three categories of evaluative studies, a generalizable, evaluative model using an open systems perspective for analyzing the ways in which residential programs are organized tc aehieve their various goals is presented. Because of the limitations of goal-attainment type research and because of the practical and methedological problem of assessing small residential programs, the proposed model attempts to provide a framework for evaluating programs as social systems while not necessarily precluding more long range outcome studies. The model is evaluative in that: 1) it provides a comprehensive conceptualization of residential treatment programs which is prerequisite to experimentation and evaluations, as well as to dealing with the program's relationships with other institutions and systems and 2) it examines programs holistically and makes explicit the functioning and relative contributions of their subsystems. The value of this approach, given the difficulties inherent to evaluative research, will become more obvious as other approaches to evaluation are reviewed.

Considering the already broad scope of this chapter, a variety of topics have necessarily been excluded. For example, it goes without saying that many disturbed children are placed in correctional facilities rather than treatment facilities, since delinquency can be regarded as a criminal offense or as a character or behavior disorder. Selection for the category of delinquent, retarded or disturbed is most likely affected by such variables as income level, resources, ethnicity, etc. However, this chapter deals with studies of programs for delinquents, retarded and adult patients only where they are relevant to either the substantive or methodological considerations of the main focus of this chapter, the evaluation of reseidential treatment programs for disturbed children. In one instance, Organization for Treatment (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966), a study of the effectiveness of different types of organizations for delinquents is considered as an example of a comparative evaluation.[1]

Similarly, the general methodological and practical problems of evaluative research will not be considered in this context except where relevant to a specific study. These more general issues and problems in evaluative research have been discussed in a variety of sources, a very few of which have been included in the bibliography.[2]

It should be noted that other authors have reviewed the literature on evaluative research in this area; e.g., Shyne (1973), Gershenson (1956), Simon (1956) and Dinnage and Pringle (1967). Generally these reviews do not focus on the problems of program evaluation but where they do review evaluative studies, these will be discussed in the course of this review.

Finally, numerous readings on residential treatment have been published, most recently those by Whittaker and Trieschman (1972) and Weber and Haberlein (1972). Where relevant to evaluation, these, too, are cited, but in general it can be said that these readings suffer from failure to be integrated around developing models of treatment, evaluating the effect of residential programs or confronting the inherent problems of such programs. A publication of papers celebrating Bellefaire's anniversary, Healing Through Living by Mayer and Blum (1972) does dea with some of these problems, such as role conflicts experienced by child care workers, teachers and therapists in a residential setting and problems which arise in coordinating the group living, education and therapy spheres of residential programs. As a problem-oriented book on residential treatment, it is recommended.

GOAL ATTAINMENT EVALUATIONS

In their follow-up study Lander and Schulman (1960), express the view that the evaluation of the effectiveness of a milieu, and by extension of a program as well, is more difficult than the evaluation of the effectiveness of individual treatment because of the greater number of variables in the milieu, less adequate theory about their therapeutic significance, less knowledge of group dynamics and similar institutional influences upon the individual, etc. Perhaps because of this, most evaluations of residential treatment programs have been descriptive and impressionistic, which, as Gershenson (1956) points out, are prerequisite to hypotheses and to subsequent experiments.

Studies which have attempted to evaluate programs are most often goal-attainment studies, which have generally been of two sorts. Some have developed specific measures of outcome, such as work records, police arrests, changes in attitudes or personality traits, etc.[3] The other, perhaps more common strategy, is the follow-up study which seeks to measure a program's success or effectiveness by looking at the post-program adjustment of the patients as measured by recidivism or success.[4]

Outcome Evaluation

Goldenberg's study, Build Me A Mountain: Youth, Poverty and the Creation of New Settings (1971), is primarily a goal-attainment type study where changes in attitude, work performance, arrests and records of experimental and control groups were compared. As an evaluative study it is one of the more complete and rigorous in that it uses an experimental and control group, has pre and post-measures of both attitudes and behavior and demonstrates a relationship between attitudes and behavior.

The Residential Youth Center, as described in the book, was in large part an outgrowth of discontent and dissatisfaction with the Job Corps Program during the most recent war on poverty. In their contacts with New Haven youth involved in the Job Corps, the author and his colleagues and founders of the Center realized that the program had serious limitations, including isolating individuals from their homes and communities, and its inability, in part due to size, to meet the needs of many of the youths. As a result, many of the boys had dropped out of the Job Corps and returned disillusioned to their home communities.

Taking a different tack, the Center sought to keep the boys in their home communities and to maintain their ties there. The Center housed 20 adolescent boys who lived at the center and who participated in group and individual therapy and in counseling sessions while working in the neighborhood Youth Corps or in other community jobs. The program is of particular interest in that it has implications for the urban poor whose critical need of services and assistance has been documented in the studies of Langner, et al. (1969).

In a discussion of the research problems, Goldenberg states:

> Given the frame of reference of its critics, one would be hard pressed to try to justify the existence of action research on the basis of the criteria (i.e., objectivity, control and replication) usually associated with the process of scientific inquiry...All too often, those involved in the area of action research have been placed in the position of first apologizing for and then defending what has come to be labelled parochially as an "inferior" (rather than a "different") approach to the problems of assessing highly volatile and complex settings. (p 334)

By way of background, an account of one staff member's response to the research during a meeting is given as follows:

> Butch: I've been sitting here and listening to you guys talk about research for about a half-hour now, and frankly the more I hear the more pissed-off I'm getting about all this research bullshit! Right now I don't give a good god-damn if I never hear another word about research or statistics for the rest of my life. Now, you guys can call this a sensitivity issue or any thing you want, but all I know is that I've had it up to here with this research crap....I am sick and tired of sitting here and being told that now, after being in the Center for about five months, my kid is going to work 38 percent more of the time than before he came into the RYC. Big fucking deal! What the hell does that tell me? And what's more, what the hell does that tell people who don't know about the RYC, about the guts of this operation? Nothing. Nothing at all. Its a lot of bullshit.
>
> Kelly: Butch, I think you're going overboard on this.
>
> Butch: The hell I am. I put my blood and guts into working with Ev and his crazy mother and all I come away with is that Ev is going to work 38 percent more of the time. Big god-damn deal. Where's Ev in all this? Where am I? Where's there anything that tells about what goes on between us day in and day out?
>
> Scotty: I think I know what's bugging you, Butch, but you know as well as I do that Washington wants these statistics. And you also know as well as I do that whether or not we get refunded depends a helluva lot on what these statistics show after a year.
>
> Butch: Look Scotty, you don't have to remind me about that. I know all about it. Washington wants statistics: CPI wants statistics; the whole world wants statistics. I

> know all that shit and I know its important. All I'm saying is that, whether or not we're refunded, if the research doesn't tell it like it really is - you know, what it feels like to work in a place like this, what its like to pour your whole self into a kid - then from my point of view it isn't worth a shit. (p. 338)

This attitude is often typical of those involved in programs and of their attitudes about research and its value.

The evaluative section of the book accordingly begins with a detailed description of one day in the life of a counselor. This detailed description provides a sense of what life is like at the center and is also evaluative in the sense that it is a detailed observation of a program similar to Barker's One Boy's Day (1951).

Following this richly descriptive chapter is the more traditional evaluation. For political reasons the participants in the program could not be randomly assigned. The local poverty agency insisted that the program take the 25 most troubled boys in the community. This list of names was submitted from the various agencies in New Haven; the most difficult 25 were taken into the program as an experimental group; the next most difficult 25 were used as a control group. Obviously the further one departs from truly randomized experimental and controls, the less rigorously the data can be interpreted, and the more open to interpretations are the findings.

Boys coming into the program were given a structured interview:

> ...designed to tap the following dimensions: self concept, social expectations, social causality, attitudes toward parents, attitudes toward authority, personal time orientation (past, present, future), alienation, hostility,

> reality functioning and impulse control, need for achievement, need for affiliation, task versus people orientation, dependence-independence and social responsibilities. (p. 400)

These interviews were tape recorded and used throughout the program.

In addition, the evaluation sought to assess changes in both attitudes and behavior. In the realm of attitudes, questionnaires revised to be appropriate in terms of vocabulary and degree of difficulty were used in a pre-and post-test designed to test the experimental and control group.

Differences in a pre- post- design between the experimental and control groups revealed that the experimental group became less alienated (with the differences significant at the .01 level), less authoritarian (significant at the .05 level), more trusting (significant at the .10 level) and more positive in views about the world (significant at the .05 level). Differences between the control and the experimental group prior to entering the Residential Youth Center were non-significant on all of these scales.

In addition to and perhaps more important than changes in attitudes as measured by paper and pencil tests, comparisons were made between the control group and the Residential Youth Center (RYC) group on work attendance at the Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs before, during and after the program. This data was available from unobtrusive, non-reactive measures (Webb et al., 1966); namely, work attendance records at the Neighrobhood Youth Corps office. Prior to the beginning of the program, the control group was attending work 86.4% of the time, while the RYC bound group showed up 66 % of the time, with a difference of 20.3%. At the point of entering the program, the trends had reversed with the RYC group attending 85.1% and the control group 55.4%. The trend continued 36 weeks after entry into the RYC program with the RYC group attending work 97.5% of the time and the control group, 56.1%. The differences between these percentages are significant at the .001 level.

Wages showed a similar relationship. The experimental group had an income of $25 a week as compared to $29 a week for the control group. Nine months later, the RYC group was earning $45.11, an increase of 80.4% as compared to the control group's salary of $20.72, a decrease of 28.6%.

Another behavioral measure used in the evaluation of the program was the comparison of the number of days spent in jail before and after the program. In the nine months prior to opening the residential youth center, the boys in RYC spent 153 days in jail, as compared with the control group's 140 days. In the nine months after the opening of the youth center, the RYC group spent 70 days in jail, a decrease of 54%, and the control spent 258 days, an increase of 85%.

These findings can be interpreted in several ways. For example, those in the youth center had better legal resources and support and consequently, were jailed less often. Similarly, a Hawthorne effect could be argued for the initial effect of entering the program; i.e., the enthusiasm and excitment of the program influenced the boys to attend work more often, which they did at the opening of the center. The fact that the control group was not randomly assigned raises further problems, in that a regression-from-the-mean phenomenon may be taking place; namely, the boys on the top of the New Haven "most troublesome boys" list could only improve, while the next 25 most troublesome could still get "worse".

Of interest is the author's attempt to relate attitudinal measures to behavioral ones, wherein lies the meaningfulness of the outcome study. The lack of congruence between attitude and behavior, from Machiavellianism on down, makes this an important part of the evaluation, both as a research finding and in terms of rounding out the evaluative strategy. Work attendance was positively correlated with Machiavellianism, with the probability smaller than .07, and with alienation at the .01 level. Both Machiavellianism and alienation were significantly correlated at the .01 level with promotion on the job. (Table 9.4, p. 413)

Unfortunately a long-term follow-up study of the boys involved in the program has not been reported, although it would undoubtedly illuminate the question of how enduring the program-induced changes were. As the author points out, it is difficult to extrapolate from such small samples in terms of program evaluation. Considering the difficulties inherent in outcome studies, however, this evaluation is remarkable, both in the extent to which it meets experimental rigor and in the significance of the outcome.

Perhaps more interesting than the outcome study evaluation is the analysis of the creation of the program, which is readily translatable into a systems analysis and is included in this section for the sake of continuity. The chapter on the creation of new settings makes explicit some of the choices faced in the course of developing an organization. A variety of assumptions regarding organizations, the poor and psychotherapy are discussed in terms of their implications for program organization. Another set of assumptions discussed is that which prevents institutions from developing means of assessing themselves. For example, the author says:

> By far the most important consequence of the assumption that the institution need not overly concern itself with its own mental health, is that the institution rarely attempts to develop or build itself any viable mechanism for preventing or dealing with its own problems. By viable mechanism, we mean any processes that would enable the institution systematically and regularly to take a long hard look at its functioning, its growth and its conflicts. The fact that few institutions or institution builders ever developed such vehicles for self-scrutiny should not be taken as evidence of bad faith, poor judgment or questionable motives. It is the ineffable result of the situation in which an organization does not view itself, its staff and its problems as legitimate, important, or of concern.
>
> ....the tendency of an institution to avoid looking at itself and to refrain from the often agonizing search to develop internal mechanisms for dealing with its own problems does not bring with it any guarantee that certain various problems will not occur. All it does is guarantee that when such problems arise, they will be dealt with haphazardly, instinctively and reflexively. In short, they will be dealt with in precisely the kinds of ways that the institution would never condone or allow to happen where it is dealing with a problem of any of its clients. (p. 99)

The founders of the Residential Youth Center made some explicit decisions to avoid the problems of the pyramidal organization, to develop mechanisms of self-scrutiny and to provide ongoing feedback about the effectiveness and functioning of the program. For example, one reason for choosing sensitivity training for staff was to provide participants with a continual supply of data and information that they could use in order to evaluate the effectiveness of individuals and of the organization itself. Much of the descriptive material included in the book is derived from logs of these daily sensitivity training sessions. The meetings allowed staff to:

> ...look at ourselves, who we were, how we were changing and to judge whether or not these changes - either in ourselves or in the setting — were of an enhancing or self-defeating variety. (p. 162)

In the case of the Center, a mechanism for on-going self-evaluation was formalized and built into the organization. The potential of such on-going mechanisms will be discussed further after a review of some other evaluative strategies.

Follow-up Evaluation

As of 1947 the Rhyther Child Center was one of the few institutions to have conducted a systematic follow-up study of its services for disturbed children (Johnson and Reid, 1947). Ambiguous criteria for successful treatment and lack of a control group make the results subject to interpretation, but considering the few systematic follow-ups of discharged children, the study remains of historical interest.

Harold Silver's "Residential Treatment of Emotionally Disburbed Children: An Evaluation of 15 Years' Experience" (1961) is a follow-up study of children placed at either Bellefaire or the Hawthorne Cedar Knolls residential treatment centers. While sparce in detail and specifics, this study has obvious methodological problems with regard to the reliability of the judgments about improvement and the measures of durability of treatment and awareness of need for it on the part of both parents and child.

The study seems to show that it is easier to treat less difficult children and that outcomes appear to be positive no matter how poorly measured. However, it represents an attempt to do a more methodologically sound study than, for example, Levy's (1969) study of 100 former patients hospitalized between 1945 and 1960 at the Menninger Clinic; in this study judgments about outcome were arrived at by letters and telephone calls and were not based on empirical measures of adjustment, much less on direct interviews of the patients.

Benjamin Garber's book, Follow-up Study of Hospitalized Adolescents (1972), is a follow-up study of adolescent boys and girls who were hospatalized during the period of 1958 to 1968 at the Psychiatric and Psychosomatic Institute of the Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago.

The objectives of the study were:

> 1) to determine the adolescent population and its hospital course, 2) to determine what has happened to former adolescent patients and their status of current functioning, 3) to get some idea of their reaction to and their utilization of the hospital and the adolescent program and 4) to extract variables from the hospital stay that would relate to current functioning. (p. XI)

In the introductory chapter the author reviews a variety of follow-up studies and concludes:

> The early follow-up studies, although covering large populations, were not uniform in treatment methods. They were also quite vague in their delineation of criteria for improvement. They seemed to have different foci such as diagnosis, description of population, disposition, and current functioning. The therapeutic modalities employed in the hospital stay came as an afterthought. (p. 13)

Discussing the methodological considerations in his study, the author suggests that there are four types of follow-up studies; i.e., those that deal with a) the informational level, b) systematic data gathering, c) systematic comparisons and d) control studies. The author describes his study as including a and b; that is, using clinical interviews and gathering information and providing systematic data analysis. He contrasts clinical and empirical research and develops a justification for combining the two approaches. By precluding outcome studies and systematic comparisons with a control study, however, he clearly limits the experimental rigor of his design.

Four developmental tasks, derived from a basically psychoanalytic theory of adolescence, were used to develop systematic ratings of the post hospital adjustment of the adolescents. In this statement the rationale for using a task-oriented assessment of the completion of developmental tasks is made explicit. In describing why he chose to assess post hospital functioning in terms of these developmental tasks rather than symtomatology Garber says:

> There is a rather striking agreement in psychoanalytic literature about the clinical dilemma of adolescence. The ego structure in adolescence is in a state of marked flux and weakness owing to the growth process. This condition of flux causes psychiatric symptoms when present, to be vague and ill defined and to be unstable, with patients shifting from one category of disorder to another. Often only follow-up of later developments in the patient's life can determine whether a given symptom picture represented psychopathology or merely an intensification of the difficulties of adolescence. Psychiatric symptoms are common and transient in most adolescents. (pgs. 46,47)

Hospital records, including nursing notes, of 164 adolescents were reviewed for basic data and all were systematically abstracted with the aid of 43 on line, precoded questions.[5] Data was obtained on 120 patients. The author and another psychiatrist then sought to interview patients and 71 of these were interviewed in a face to face situation. Most interviews were conducted at the hospital in a clinical manner during a 45 to 60 minute structured interview designed to cover various areas of current functioning. The remaining patients were interviewed by phone, with a questionnaire designed to cover similar material, or information was gathered from other sources such as parents, other patients and former therapists.

The interviews and various data were coded and patients were rated on a 5 point rating scale to assess their level of current functioning with regard to employment, social activities, interpersonal relations, scholastic activities, family relations, drugs, rehospitalization etc. Patients were divided into those who were in the high functioning group, which included 45 former patients; 46 former patients comprised a moderately functioning group and 24 former patients, a low functioning group.

In general it appears that people did improve after hospitalization. The high functioning group tended to be seen more in the interviews, were employed or attending school and few were rehospitalized. These people usually went home after discharge, none were diagnosed as psychotic at follow-up and no association was found between the various interpersonal aspects of the hospital milieu; i.e. those that said that they were satisfied with or liked therapists, nursing staff, etc. The low functioning group was described as a drifting or non-functioning group. This group of patients was seen as isolated and spending most of their time at home or in and out of hospitals. The group that was not followed up, including 44 of the patients, did not appear to differ significantly on the basis of their hospital experience; namely, involvement in the program with the group and staff and having the interest of staff. They also appear to have been significantly less self destructive, were given less medication, ran away less often, and appeared less significantly improved at discharge.

The author attempts to assess patients' feelings about the hospital. Generally very few felt that inter-personal relationships were negative. The most positive relationships were felt to be with the nursing staff and the most negative reactions were to the school program. Suggestions for improving the program included more structure; tighter controls were suggested by more disturbed patients, while less structure and more freedom were requested by healthier patients.

In a final stage of the research, two by two chi square analysis attempted to sort out the relationship of the hospital experiences with current functioning. Unfortunately the total percent of significant relationships is not given and it is difficult to assess the meaning of the significance level which was set at 10%. Improved functioning at the 10% level was related to length of stay in the hospital, being a private patient, discharged diagnosis, condition on discharge, optimism of staff, involvement with adolescent group, involvement and interest of the staff, and a lack of medication in the hospital. The two best predictors of current functioning were medication in the hospital and involvement with and interest in staff. Those patients who did not recieve medication, were well regarded by and involved with staff seemed to have done better. Since medication was used rarely, it appears that use of medication is highly related to prognosis. ~~In short, it appears that use of medication is highly related to prognosis.~~ In short, it appears that healthier patients did better at follow-up, a not too remarkable conclusion.

In summarizing the findings about the high functioning group, the author says:

> The high functioning group was making it in all areas, while the moderate functioning group showed certain isolated areas of poor functioning. But overall one can say that 91 out of 115 former patients were making it in the community. (p. 156)

There are, of course, other possible explanations, such as that the group which was contacted was pre-selected and healthier.

Of interest is the author's conclusion:

> The extraction of eight variables from the hospital course that correlated with current functioning is the so called "goal" of our research project. These variables can serve as useful guidelines for future adolescent in-patients and can be used as predictors of outcome. The clinical value and significance of these findings need to be tested and replicated by clinicians and researchers alike. If these and other variables of hospital course can be isolated, the specific matching and tailoring of the therapeutic milieu to particular patients can prove a useful and valuable clinical tool. Although the number of possible predictors is great, the painstaking transformation of clinical data into operationally useful and measurable factors is the major task of research of the therapeutic process. (p. 157)

In comparison with other clinical, non-systematic follow-up studies, this study rates well. The author sought to develop systematic data to establish reliabilities between ratings and to relate hospital variables to outcome. It clearly appears, despite the obvious limitations of bias introduced by those conducting the interviews with patients they knew, the problems resulting from the lack of the control group, etc., that outcome was related to prognosis; mainly healthier people, healthier at intake and healthier during the course of the hospital, did better at discharge. While the study represents a major step, compared to previous outcome studies, in specifying the measures of functioning and hospital experience, its conclusions are limited by the lack of a control group. The true significance of the relationships is unclear because of the lenient 10% level of significance, especially since a large but unspecified number of chi square tests was conducted. The author, however, did not opt for such a rigorous research project and given his limited goals, he appears to have achieved them; namely, to have combined a clinical study with systematic data collection. His procedures are described, instruments are presented in appendices and the study could be replicated, which represents considerable advance over other outcome studies. The extent to which it is an evaluative study is questionable; some efforts were made to relate outcome to patients' perception of the hospital. The study is primarily a study of the outcome of adolescent disturbance rather than an evaluative study of a psychiatric hospital.

Allerhand, Weber and Haug's book (Adaptation and Adaptability: the Bellefaire Follow-up Study. N.Y., 1966. CWLA), is a follow-up study of 50 boys who had been institutionalized at Bellefaire, a residential treatment center for about 150 disturbed children and adolescents, mainly male, Jewish and middle class from mid-western urban areas. The children lived in cottages of about a dozen, went to school at the center although some went to school or work in the community) and for the most part, comprised all but three boys who had been discharged during a three and one-half year period, 1958-1961, and who had been at Bellefaire at least 6 months. The follow-up took place over two years after discharge when they were, on the average, about 18 years old.

The primary object of the study was to "describe their fate" at the time of follow-up, including the "circumstances within the living situation that might aid in establishing and articulating more effective aftercare plans." (p. 21) The design involved collecting data on each child at four points in time:

1) at three points during institutional stay; mainly, three months, fifteen months and discharge.

2) The follow-up point one to two years later.

Raw data for the residential period came from the institution's past records; e.g.; treatment plans, staff evaluations, and caseworker, unit worker or teacher reports. For the follow-up, the raw data consisted of transcripts of approximately one to one and one-half hour interviews with the boy, his parents and therapist. The data was rated independently by a dozen trained judges (two judges independently rating each record) using scales developed by the research team.

The theoretical orientation was that "man's functioning must be viewed as an interaction between the self and the setting, simultaneously reckoning with developing structural factors." (p. 2) In this orientation, the concept of adaptability is seen as central, since:

> a particular level of adaptability is the current integration of the individual's structural development with the resultant interaction between him and all the factors so far included in his life space. (p. 3)

"Adaptability" is defined as a "state of readiness to meet demands on a selective basis" (p.3) and is assumed to increase as the normal child grows. The second major concept, "adaptation" is defined as "behavior resulting from an individual's application of his available adaptability to circumstances in the perceived environment with which he desires continuity" (p. 3); i.e., the individual uses his capacity.

Adaptation was operationalized in terms of role fulfillment. For the three residential time points, ratings of role fulfillment that were assumed to reflect consistent, age-related norms appropriate to individual life in three areas (adults, peers, tasks) and in two settings (school and cottage) were made using case records. In the follow-up interview, transcripts were rated for interpersonal (family, peers) and cultural (school, work, leisure, economic) role fulfillment according to community norms.

To measure adaptability during residence (at three months only), an index was derived from IQ, Rorschach protocols, and ratings of casework accessibility, with its sub-areas of verbal accessibility, motivation to change, self-awareness and global trust. The follow-up adaptability measure, called Intrapsychic Balance Index, was derived from ratings on 24 scales in the areas of self-attitudes, conduct, energy, growth and identity. Very little explanation is offered to justify

n to

"adaptability".

A third variable concerned influences on the child. Essentially these were rated as constant at Bellefaire, but the follow-up situation was rated in terms of stress or support. Some additional measures included staff assessments; e.g., treatment plan, discharge evaluation, caseworker's aims, etc.

Most of the numerous ratings on seven-point scales were ultimately combined into 5 indexes: 1) adaptability during and after treatment, 2) role fulfillment during and after and 3) situational stress after treatment. On each index, scores were simply dichotomized; e.g., "minimally adequate" or "inadequate" in role fulfillment. These scores permitted only nominal statistics; e.g., percent adequate and chi square tests. No psychometric data is provided about these scales and indices; e.g., their reliability or internal consistency. We are only told that interjudge correlations ranged from .50 to .77 and coefficients of agreement (same or adjacent score on 7 point scales) from 79% to 93%.

In examining the data, the main focus of the study was adaptation and adaptability in the community at follow-up and the relationship of these to concurrent situational factors or to prior institutional measures; i.e., both research indices and staff evaluations. In addition, changes during the residential period were examined, along with the predictive value of measures earlier in treatment with regard to role fulfillment by discharge time.

The findings from this institutional period can be noted first in passing. Overall role fulfillment ("adaptation") improved somewhat between admission and discharge, with the "minimally adequate" boys increasing from 56% to 73%. This trend conceals great variability with individual children regressing or improving. The younger ones (under 13) improved more, but they started at a lower level and never caught up with the older ones. (The authors assume the younger children to be more maladjusted to warrant separation from home in the first place; however, it could be that the norms applied in judgement were not adequately related to age.) Peer relationships were not as good as adult ones, reflecting perhaps the problem that the peers were also maladjusted and could not provide good models. Cottage behavior was found more adequate than school.

In casework, which was evidently a major aspect of treatment, the workers tended to raise their goals over time and the children did to some extent get more involved. Responsiveness to casework - for example, at 15 months - was related to overall role fulfillment at the time of discharge. Similarly related to adaptation at discharge were the adaptability measures after admission and some staff evaluations earlier in treatment. If improved functioning at Bellefaire was the criterion, one might say the institution was having some success and that certain measures earlier in treatment had some predictive value for who would do well.

However the criterion is functioning in the community afterwards and the authors state that:

> Perhaps the most striking finding of the study is that none of the measurements of within-Bellefaire performance at discharge, either in casework or in cottage and school roles, were useful in predicting postdischarge adaptability and adaptation. (p. 140)

Adaptability at admission was the only research index that related significantly to follow-up measures, specifically to follow-up adaptability (intrapsychic balance) and to cultural role fulfillment four or five years later. Regular staff evaluations on particular items were in general better predictors of follow-up adequacy than the research measures; e.g. such staff evaluations as whether a child would profit from casework, could go out to school or work in the local community, had improved in treatment, etc. The authors discuss this stronger association, not in terms of inadequate research instruments, but as representing in part a self-fulfilling prophecy; i.e., children who were seen as more hopeful in fact got better treatment.

At follow-up, 71% of the boys were judged to be at least adequate in their overall adaptation and 57% in their adaptability. When the milieu of the boys was rated, 68% were judged to be in situations that were at least partially supportive. Adequacy of follow-up adaptation and adaptability was found to be significantly related to whether the postdischarge situation was supportive or stressful. Turning again to the Bellefaire measures, the authors say that only when the situation to which the child returned was taken into account were performances at Bellefaire related to post discharge adequacies.

In fact, they do not directly test for this. It would entail holding the situation constant and, in separate analyses for the stressed and supported boys, comparing adequacy at Bellefaire with adequacy on three dependent measures; i.e., follow-up adaptability and adaptation in both interpersonal and cultural areas. If they had done this, they would have noted that the discharge role-fulfillment measures still failed to relate to follow-up measures in any consistent way; and although admission adaptability differentiated better, certain staff evaluations remained the best. Nor do they note that current situation by itself relates more strongly to the dependent measures than do the Bellefaire measures alone; e.g., that on 12 out of 15 comparisons (5 Bellefaire and 3 follow-up measures), the "adequate at Bellefaire but stressful situation now" cases do more poorly than "inadequate at Bellefaire but supportive situation." Instead they are concerned to show how situation interacts differentially with status on various Bellefaire measures. They argue that for those high on admission adaptability, situational stress does not differentiate on the follow-up measures, i.e., these boys do fairly well anyway, while for those low in earlier adaptability, the current situation makes a significant difference. Conversely, for those adequate in discharge role fulfillment (or in response to casework), situational conditions have a crucial influence, while for the inadequate they make little difference and such boys tend to do poorly anyway. These inferences go beyond the data, for whether or not certain comparisons reach conventional significance level [illegible] with different [illegible] sizes as with differences on the dependent measures

The study cannot evaluate the success of Bellefaire's program, since there is no control group. It cannot say whether the boys had improved in community functioning *because* they went to Bellefaire, or even *that* they had improved after admission, since no measure was applied both at admission and at follow-up; the two adaptability measures were quite different from each other.

The primary purpose of the study by [redacted] Taylor and [redacted] Alpert, *Continuity and Support Following Residential Treatment* (1973), was to examine the post-discharge adaptation of children after residential treatment at Children's Village, sponsored by Child and Family Services of Connecticut. The objects of the study were specifically: 1) to assess how children were adapting after treatment, 2) to examine discharge plans for children for the degree to which they were specified, 3) to assess the degree to which post-discharge environments were supportive and stressful, 4) to attempt to understand the relationship between post-discharge environments and treatment and finally, 5) to explore the reasons why some children did not respond to post-discharge services. In a sense the study is a logical extension of the study by Allerhand et al, (1966), which was previously discussed, and is also related to the suggested findings of Ellsworth et al. (1968), Kane and Chambers (1961), Mora et al. (1969) and others, that behavior and adjustment may be functions of situations more than of personality characteristics.

The 186 children selected for the study had been in the Children's Village treatment program for 6 months or longer. of the 186 children selected for the study, only 75 were found who agreed, or whose guardians agreed, to participate in the study.

A version of the Roen-Burns' Community Adaptation Scale (CAS Behavioral Publications, NY, 1968) was used and adaptation and admissions were measured by broad diagnostic categories: Children designated psychotic, borderline or character disorders on the basis of case records were independently rated. Degree of change during residential treatment was rated on the basis of a sense of self-worth and improved behavior. Supports in the community after discharge were measured by the child's perception of the availability of help from such people as parents, relatives, friends, neighbors, and staff at Children's Village. Continuity was defined by the degree to which a child lived continuously with his own or adopted parents following discharge. The discharge plans were taken directly from plans made in the case records.

Four hypotheses were tested:

1) The greater the degree of continuity in post-discharge environment, the greater the degree of the child's adaptation to the environment.

2) The greater the degree of support in the post-discharge environment, the greater the degree of the child's adaptation to the environment.

3) The greater the degree of pre-admission adaptation, the greater the degree of post-discharge adaptation.

4) The greater the degree of adaptation gained in the institution, the greater the degree of post-discharge adaptation. (pgs 50, 51)

Hypothesis number 2 and, to some extent, number 1 were supported by the data, which found that the child's perception of family and/or other support, early detection of the child's problem, professional help prior to admission, and parental visiting and involvement during treatment were also associated with the degree of continuity and perceived support in the environment. Little relationship was found between preadmission and post-discharge adaptation. Such factors as problems which were not long standing, age, a stable family situation, and family's knowledge of help available were significantly related to post-discharge adaptation.

Hypothesis number 4 was rejected. Adaptation achieved while in treatment was found to be essentially unrelated to post-discharge adaptation, with the exception of parent/child contacts during placement and staff contacts during placement; i.e., variables which are more likely related to family adjustment rather than to in-treatment adjustment. In terms of practical implications, the authors suggest the need for continuous family involvement prior to and during treatment and during after-care.

Kane and Chambers (1961) who view "improvement as a qualitative change in a patient's ability to cope with his environment, irrespective of original diagnosis or extent of illness," followed up 24 children seven years after they had been discharged from a residential center. They theorize that:

> Since functional illness is a social phenomenon, improvement is also socially determined. And it is this network of complex interactions that makes it next to impossible to quantify improvement in any way that will yield a true picture. ... Outcome is related not only to original diagnosis but also to a complex of attitudinal and social factors. In many cases one is left to conclude that the critical elements in improvement can never be isolated. Or sometimes, improvement, like beauty, lies in the eyes of the beholder. (p. 1026)

Their study focuses on factors such as parental attitudes toward the child and satisfaction with post-treatment arrangements, expectations for the child by both parents and people involved in his or her treatment and the dynamics of family relationships; i.e., environmental influences and their effect upon outcome. They conclude that "Improvement is determined by the environment and not by clinically established norms." (p. 1026)

Davids et al (1968), recognizing the need for studies of such factors affecting the long-term outcomes of residential treatment, found in their follow-up study that evaluations of adjustment following treatment were unrelated to such treatment variables as IQ, drug therapy, psychotherapy, prognosis, school experiences or hospital adjustment, but were related to presenting symptoms at the onset of treatment. In his review of the follow-up studies of Brown (1960), Eaton and Menolascino (1967), Rutter (1965) and Eisenberg (1956, 1957), Davids call attention to:

> the generality of the finding that treatment variables especially conventional psychotherapy) seem to bear little relationship to subsequent adjustment as indicated in these independent studies, involving children diagnosed as autistic,

> atypical, schizophrenic or passive-aggressive. Moreover, in several of these follow-up investigations, it has been found that the best predictors of later adjustment were the child's complaints and presenting symptoms at the onset of treatment. These findings suggest that the main factors determining outcome of psychiatric treatment may not be the specific therapies employed but the kinds of symptoms and behaviors the patients bring with them to the treatment setting. (P. 474. 475)

He quotes Eisenberg as stating, "Our follow-up study fails to reveal any correlation between formal psychiatric treatment and clinical outcome." (Davids, p. 473)

These follow-up studies raise fundamental issues about the relation of in-house adjustment to post-program adjustment and about the extent to which the apparent success of treatment may be due to removal of the child from stressful situations. The studies of Allerhand et al. (1966), Kane and Chambers (1961) and others all indicate that extensive after care is essential to marshalling family and community support for sustaining and augmenting gains in treatment. From their findings, it is evident that the effects of residential treatment can be undone or supported and augmented, depending upon the nature and extent of after-care services. The conditions before and after treatment may, in effect, be more important than the fact that the child was in treatment. Since maturational and situational influences may confound measures of post-treatment outcomes, attempts to measure the outcome of treatment can probably be best measured at discharge with the recognition that long-term adjustment may be a different question. However, to the extent that treatment is extended to take into account these other environmental and maturational variables, by such means as family therapy, aftercare services, etc., the outcome of treatment and the outcome of subsequent adjustment tend to merge; i.e., the concept of treatment becomes more salient to the concept of subsequent adjustment and adaptation. Consequently, program evaluation depends to some extent on how narrowly defined the program's goals and responsibilities are.

For example, Benjamin and Weatherly (1947) whose study followed up children after post-hospital periods of 1, 2 and 3 years, found such variables as psycho-physical maturation, the interruption of the child-parent neurotic cycle, the decreasing dependency upon parents that came with maturation and a widening social radius were important in explaining improvement in adjustment. These variables are not treatment ones in the narrow sense, but recognition of their therapeutic significance within a treatment program may make it possible to make treatment outcome more successful in that it has a more lasting impact on the patient and his or her environment.

The findings of these studies have important program implications. As the result of such a follow-up study, described in a paper by Mora et al. (1969), the Astor Home for Children redirected its focus on in-house residential treatment to a more community-oriented model with pre-admission planning with families, intensive after-care with families or group homes, attempts to mobilize community resources for the children, etc. The need for such a redirection "became apparent after the children began to be discharged". and "at the end of a five year pilot project. The need for a continuation and expansion of services was obvious even on the basis of the limited data available."[6] In this instance, relatively on-going feedback from limited data was used to broaden the treatment perspectives and expand program goals and activities to include support for post-hospital adjustment.

The limitation of such follow-up studies is that they are usually not completed for a long time after the child has been in treatment and thus are unlikely to provide the ongoing feedback necessary for mid-course program corrections. They often, though not necessarily, fail to assess the relative contributions of the different aspects of treatment; i.e., psychotherapy, education, group living, separation from family pathology, etc. Where no clear-cut findings, or negative ones occur, the results are difficult to interpret. They may indicate that the program was effective, but the child's improvement was undone by return to the community or situation from which the child was removed.

Paul Lerman (1968) in a provocative interpretation of recidivism as an outcome measure, argues that if programs claim success in the case of patients which do not recidivate after returning to the community, they must likewise hold themselves responsible for those which do recidivate. Why? Because presumably the successes are as much functions of the post-institutional experience - and ie, due to factors independent of the program - as the failures. In reanalyzing data from a variety of follow-up studies and analyzing the comparability of control groups, Lerman concludes that the criteria of relative failure may be a more accurate and truthful means of evaluating programs than that of relative success.

For example, in reanalyzing data from California's experimental community treatment project (Warren et al., 1966). Lerman points out that the differences between the randomly assigned control and experimental group revocations may have been due to the fact that although the rates of parole violations were similar, the experimental group was less likely to have their parole revoked than the control group. Consequently, the experimental and control groups appear to differ not in their own behavior but in the behavior of the parole officers with respect to revocation of parole.

In reviewing studies which claim success, he reanalyzes data to include delinquents not counted in final outcome measures because they were dropped from programs before completing the program; these delinquents he describes as "internal failures". Adding these internal failures to the number of delinquents who recidivate, Lerman concludes that private programs have about the same rate of relative failure as public programs, and that in both cases:

> It is not sufficient merely to assume that assessing success is the relevant evaluative problem. One must be willing to face the possibility that the program is associated with high rates of failure. Instead of the success of a program, it might be more relevant to evaluate its failure.
>
> ... Regardless of the type of program investigated, residential institutions for delinquents...are characterized by high rates of potential failure. ...researchers interested in evaluating new programs should focus on the problem of whether or not (and how) failure rates have been reduced — not whether an institution can claim success. (p. 56)

Finally, Lerman proposes that successful treatment and humanitarianism are independent issues. In the case of the California Treatment Program experiment for example, he says:

> If lighter sentences do not increase the risk of failure, then why not be more humane and equitable? Keeping boys in the community is undoubtedly a lighter sentence than sending them away. But California has found that this probably does not increase the risk of failure.
>
> ... If it is decided to advocate humanitarianism in its own right, the social policy issue becomes much clearer. (pg. 64, 63)

In summary, his reinterpretation of the data and the inclusion of "internal failures" bolsters his criticisms of recidivism as a measure, by which programs can be evaluated and of the way in which these measures are used to justify a program's funding, philosophy and treatment of delinquents. His analysis of the concepts of humanitarianism and treatment outcome will hopefully do much to clarify these issues in program evaluation.

In summarizing the provacative implications of this paper, he says:

> Social welfare institutions are too heavily subsidized, indirectly and directly, for social workers not to take the responsibility for knowing what has happened to the people served. A good start can be made by keeping track of all the people not completing treatment, discontinuing service, dropping out of programs, and running away. Rigorous and non-deceptive social bookkeeping may yield discomforting facts about agencies' success and reputation. It is hoped that we will be aware of defensive reactions and remind ourselves that we entered social work to serve people in trouble - not established agencies, ideologies and methods. (p. 64)

Problems with outcome criteria, as discussed by Alt (1964), Lerman (1968) and Simon and Gershenson (1956) are but one limitation of outcome studies, whether these be goal-attainment or follow-up studies. Outcome studies have been criticized by Baker (1969), Etzioni (1960), Schulberg and Baker (1968) and others for a variety of reasons, including:

1. The delay in providing relevant feedback about effectiveness to the program.

2. The relative disregard (again, unless designed differently) of the intramural functioning of the program, and hence of the institution as a social system.

3. The inability (unless designed otherwise) to delineate the relative contribution of the various components of the program to the outcome; in other words, ~~its~~ emphasis on the net effectiveness of the program.

4. The difficulty in differentiating formal goals from informal and unrecognized goals.

In addition to and aside from such practical considerations as cost, the relative lack of ongoing and useful feedback, and the fact that outcome studies rely heavily on such measures as recidivism, changes in mental health, and interpersonal functioning, etc., outcome studies may be of little value statistically becuase of inadequate sample size and control groups. ~~in residential treatment~~. There is a trend in the residential treatment of children toward small, decentralized treatment programs, halfway houses, and group homes. Cohen (1969) has delineated the relationship of sample size to statistical power, and it is likely that most studies of residential treatment programs with fewer than ten children would preclude the finding of meaningful significant differences. The lack of adequate sample size is often aggravated by the lack of a randomly assigned control group and the ever-present problems of unreliable and invalid measures of outcome. Where such measures are employed, they are often used in multivariate analysis and thus require relatively large samples which are again precluded by small decentralized programs.

PROCESS EVALUATION

One strategy for overcoming these limitations of outcome studies is to look at changes in the course of treatment. Majorie Monkman's book, A Milieu Therapy Program for Behaviorally Disturbed Children (1972) is an example of process evaluation, which attempts to assess change in individuals as a result of their participation in a treatment program.

The first major goal of the research project was to conceptualize the ongoing service program in such a manner that the significant therapeutic variables could be identified, taught, replicated and evaluated. Other goals of this research project included: developing useful techniques of child-care staff in their interactions with children, developing a training curriculum for staff, establishing clinical criteria for the children's progress and instruments to measure change, and finally "to develop and operate an effective program that produced significant and lasting changes of its residents, in the direction of better social adaptation." (p. 6)

The study reports in detail many aspects of the program and its development, including staff training and roles, and this would constitute useful reading for anyone operating a behavioral modification program. Although the program faced all the difficulties of conceptualizing complex social behavior and its meaning within a behavioristic framework, the thoroughgoing application of behaviorist principles to so many facets of the program, while at the same time tailoring it to each individual child, is impressive.

However, the study purports to be a process evaluation of efforts to conceptualize the major variables in the milieu and it must be judged according to its success in this respect. If the crucial variables have successfully been identified and conceptualized, then manipulation of these variables would have a significant impact on the children's behavior.

Four basic instruments were used. One of these was a daily behavior check list where staff simply checked whether the child had, for example, brushed teeth, reached school on time, made bed, etc. Scores during orientation provided baselines for choosing any target behaviors for improvement and for measuring subsequent change. Secondly, each child carried around a daily mark sheet, which listed appropriate social behavior and provided spaces for staff to deduct or assign marks and to indicate how many marks were spent later that day. Although central to the whole reinforcement system, this could not be used for measuring behavior, since reinforcement was inevitably variable and intermittent. Thirdly, a punishment form recorded each sequence of punished behavior in detail and the penalty. Fourthly, independent observers filled out ranking sheets of nine samples of each child's behavior.

Basically three types of data are reported which would assess behavioral impact:

1) The self-contained punishment study assigned each child randomly to a time out or loss of marks schedule after the orientation period. After some weeks, each child switched to the other schedules. Findings of this study were that punishable behaviors dropped markedly from the orientation baseline after the schedule was initiated and that they dropped lower on the time out than on the loss of marks system. The difference, however, was not great, and the order in which the schedules were introduced appeared unimportant.

2) Only three children were discussed in detail. On the basis of these, the relation between the treatment plans and, for example, independent observers' ratings were, while suggestive, based on too few cases to say if the behavior was responding to modification.

3) A pilot follow-up study was planned but not reported in detail.

Monkman has attempted to deal with the difficulties of process evaluations, such as delineating the relationship between treatment variables and target behaviors with a sufficiently large sample size. However, the study is still faced with the limitations of a process evaluation vis a vis the long term outcome. As discussed by Allerhand, Weber and

Haug (1966) and Lerman (1968), such process evaluations are limited, since program adjustment is not necessarily related to post-discharge adjustment. Conversely, one can legitimately question the effectiveness of a program which demonstrates improved in-house adjustment by means of a process evaluation on the basis of its therapeutic relevance for the patient's adjustment in the community, since presumably, one goal of residential treatment is to improve life long adjustment.

A working solution to the dilemma posed by these two different evaluative strategies is suggested by Nelson, Singer and Johnsen (1973). In their work at the Adler Center where Monkman's study was conducted earlier, they suggest a four step model of evaluation. This model of evaluation is of particular interest in that it suggests the need for viewing behavior in a variety of contexts, i.e., different stages, and thus addresses itself to the problem discussed previously, that what is often regarded as pathological behavior may be more situations-specific than has been recognized. Knowing the lack of relationship between in-house behavior and pre and post-placement behavior, the authors emphasize the importance of evaluating the success of treatment in terms of changing behavior and for different points in time.

1) As a first step in evaluation, they suggest that baseline data be collected prior to admission. It is important at pre-admission that unacceptable behavior be specifically delineated and that specific goals be set for the individual which will help the individual to function better in the systems of school, family and community after discharge from the

program.

2) The second step is residential baseline data regarding deviant behavior. Of the relationship between behavior in a residential setting and in a community behavior, the authors say:

> Because we assume that behavior is situationally determined, it becomes relevant to ask when are the deviant behaviors observed in the community (and for which the child had been admitted to a treatment facility) can be elicited in the residential setting. If they do not occur when the child is removed from the community setting, they are inaccessible to modification outside of that setting (at least to those relying on behavioral methods of treatment.) If behaviors do occur in the residence, it cannot be assumed they will occur with the same intensity and frequency as they did in the community, and the residential facility will need to determine its own baseline from which to measure progress within the facility. (p. 951)

Some might argue that although deviant behavior may be different in a residential facility and in the community, it springs from the same underlying pathology or illness and consequently, treatment will cure the symptoms which occur in the different situations; the authors clearly do not accept this view.

3) The third step in evaluation is behavior at the time of discharge at which point comparisons can be made between behavior at admission and at discharge.

4) The fourth step is community follow-up. It is behavior upon return to the community which is important in the evaluation of a program. In this regard, the authors state:

> Most evaluations are limited to steps 2 and 3. However, when viewing behavior from the transactional system model advocated here, steps 1 and 4 become

> crucial. In fact, evaluations concerning effectiveness of treatment at every level must focus upon and show an appreciation of the network of systems from which the individual developed his particular style of life and behavior patterns. Viewing behavior from an ecological and transactional viewpoint has provided us with a prospective for approaching the criterion problem. We are thus now in a position to answer the question, "how well is the child able to make it back into the community situation?" - which is perhaps the only true criterion for the evaluation of a residential treatment. (p. 952)

What most programs seeking evaluation desire is relatively immediate, concrete and practical feedback on how to re-organize their activities in order to achieve their goals. The potential utility of the 4 step model for small institutions, constrained by time and resources, can be illustrated. One of the authors wrote all of the 171 residential treatment programs listed as Child Welfare League of America members and requested copies of any evaluative studies which had been conducted in order to survey the types of evaluations which programs had undertaken and/or considered worthwhile. Nine studies which could be considered evaluative in a broad sense were returned.

On the basis of this survey, it appears that the programs conducted some low-cost, in-house, informal inquiries into the post-discharge experiences of patients. By and large these studies were essentially descriptive, lacked a control group and provided some very limited feedback in terms of the effectiveness of the program.

However, these inquiries varied in the degree to which they were systematized or comparable, and they contained obvious problems, such as sample size, unclear definitions of success criteria, etc.

If programs conduct their own evaluations, it would be best if they did it in a standardized, systematic way which could be incorporated into the recordkeeping system throughout the program's involvement from preadmission to follow-up and aftercare. It would be useful for such programs to develop measures, as is suggested in the four step model of Nelson et al. (1973), of functioning at the different points in time and to build these into the record-keeping system so that they could be compared at different points in time. While the results might be limited for want of control groups, etc., a by-product of research would be to focus attention on what appears to have been previously neglected — both pre admission contacts with children and their families and after care services. On-going evaluation could thus be conducted as part of service.

SYSTEMS EVALUATIONS

The Supra System

The four step model logically leads to an examination of the residential center within the context of the larger social system; i.e., the network of care givers, the family and the community, etc. Studies of the epidemiology of "mental illness" among children are relevant to the evaluation of networks of treatment facilities in assessing how well they meet the needs of the children in the population. Presumably in a rational system-wide allocation of resources, priorities should be assigned and children referred to the most appropriate facilities. The recent work of Langner, et al,, (1969), Pappenfort, et al., (1968) referred to in the introduction and Sattl and Leppla (1969), are relevant here. The problems of assessing treated, untreated, true prevalance and the incidence of psychiatric disorders among adults is problematic. The use of diagnostic categories with children and adolescents are more so. Childhood disorders are difficult to diagnose reliably and are likely to be confounded with age-specific disorders (Murphy 1963), transitory stress reactions, developmental lags, etc. These problems in assessing the nature and seriousness of psychiatric impairment which are so troublesome for epidemiological studies are equally troublesome for studies which attempt to assess treatment programs by measuring changes in individuals' psychiatric status as a result of treatment.

Maluccio's study, *Residential Treatment of Disturbed Children: A Study of Service Delivery* (In press, Child Welfare League of America), examines the delivery of service throughout an entire system rather than within one specific program. It is significant to evaluation in that it documents the extent to which the participation of a residential program in a system of caregivers has vital implications for its success or failure. The study clearly indicates that whatever success may have occured in residential treatment was intimately related to the entire system of services for the child and his family and secondly, that evaluation of a specific program must consequently consider the larger system of services provided for the child prior to and after discharge from residential treatment.

The study seeks to examine the experiences of 215 children placed in residential treatment under the auspices of the Rhode Island Beneficiary Program between 1964 and 1970. Data for the study was collected from case records and included information about the children, their families, demographic characteristics, contact with agencies and reports from the treatment institutions describing pre-placement services, referral, placement, treatment, outcome of treatment and after care services. Treatment institutions were also asked to fill out questionnaires regarding treatment because the records were uneven; the use of case records constitutes the limitation of the studies.

In general the children were characterized by a variety of physical and emotional health problems and tended to come from families living at a marginal level with an average income level of about $7,000 per year. Referral for treatment was typically initiated by school or social agency and in two-thirds of the cases, occurred three or more years after the time when individual problems were first recognized by a community agency or professional person outside the family. It is significant that residential treatment was often a desperate decision made after the child had had some contact with and exposure to services with his family. Whether these services were adequate to prevent eventual placement or not was not answered, but in general the services tended to be fragmented, uncoordinated and generally inadequate, which raises the question of how many children might have avoided residential placement had better services been provided.

At the time of the study, 125 children had been discharged. The treatment programs were asked to evaluate the children at time of discharge with the criteria left to the discretion of the institution. About 37% were considered substantially improved, 11% moderately improved, 22% minimally improved and 30% no progress. Considering the severity of the children's difficulties, family situation and conditions prior to placement, such a success rate may be considered satisfactory, although the definitions of success are elusive and as Alt has pointed out, criteria for measuring success are difficult to agree upon.

Several questions are raised by this finding:

1) Presumably some of the youngsters might have gotten worse and decompensated as a result of placement, yet no category was made for these cases.

2) Secondly, what is the relationship of success at time of discharge to overall success? Functioning in a sheltered residential program may be different than functioning in a more hazardous and disruptive life in the community with one's family.

Two-thirds of the children were placed in settings outside of Rhode Island which obviously limited the extent to which parents could be involved in treatment programs. The research of Allerhand, et al., (1966) and Taylor and Alpert (1973) indicate t such continuity and parental support is crucial to a successful outcome following residential treatment.

Data on post-discharge functioning was fragmentary and the institutions had no procedures for gathering such information. This raises the issues of the criteria of success; that is, whether evaluation should be made at the time of discharge or whether it should take into account later adjustment, etc.; i.e., is it the reponsibility of a residential treatment program in defining its success to be responsible for returning an individual to a hazardous, pathogenic environment? The data collected indicated that the treatment institutions did make specific recommendations for after-care services but that they did little follow-up. After-care for the child and his family has been demonstrated to be important in the continuing functioning of the child and the need was obviously there in these cases.

The author summarized his study as follows:

> The limitations suggested by this study are not unique; essentially they represent criticisms of the system of residential treatment that have been repeatedly noted in research undertakings, clinical writings, and practice experiences throughout the country. The most serious limitation has to do with the seeming inability of existing community agencies to deal systematically with the needs of the child and his family even after there has been a recognition of emotional disturbance. In case after case, there is evidence of fragmentation of services, insufficient inter-agency collaboration and the poor use of personnel, professional and community resources. (p.15)

These criticisms are directed at the use of resources both prior to and after placement.

Maluccio's study was employed by a task force examining the beneficiary program of the state of Rhode Island. Recommendations made on the basis of the study included: 1) that the state resources be centralized, and 2) that the responsibility for disturbed children be placed with a single agency in order to provide a focal point for planning and management, to promote a more effective relationship between private agencies and public agencies and to stimulate a comprehensive program to meet the needs of the children through a closer coordination of services.

Networks of services, such as mental health services can be studied from the vantage point of either particular agencies within a system of agencies or the flow of patients through the system. In "Network Analysis as a Method for the Evaluation of Service Delivery Systems" (In press, Community Mental Health Journal) Burgess, Nelson and Wallhaus approach the problem of evaluating entire systems of care givers by means of a network analysis.

One may argue that a relatively effective program may appear ineffective because of the disorganization of the community or the lack of support services following discharge. Clearly the effectiveness of any individual institution is to a large extent related to the parameters and constraints of the whole network of services. As residential treatment programs develop a more open, community orientation, it will be necessary for program evaluation to consider the constraints imposed on particular agencies by the network of services of which they are an integral part. The proposal to apply network analysis is significant for program evaluation in that it provides a conceptual framework for viewing the institution in the context of the larger system.

The authors develop measures for defining the effectiveness of the system, by looking at the amount of time a person spends in an agency and his progress through the network. They also develop measures of "cycling" or repetitions of contacts with an agency, which suggest that services failed to meet their stated goals. The authors suggest that a variety of problems in services delivery can be approached using a network analysis approach; e.g., reasons for cycling, comparative effectiveness of out-patient and in-patient services, etc.

George Thomas, in "Community-Oriented Care in Children's Institutions" (US Office of Child Development Grant, No. OCD-CB-106, 1972) gives a preliminary report of an attempt to evaluate and experiment with a state-wide network of child care services. In the first year of the project, the researchers developed a survey designed to assess the extent to which the child caring institutions in Georgia were community versus non-community-oriented, and to provide baseline data for assessing the impact of programs introduced to change existing institutions toward greater community orientations. Three different strategies of change were then utilized in a quasi-experimental manner to assess techniques for changing the institutions. The assessment of these different strategies for change was a goal of the second year of the project.

George Thomas describes the rationale for these experiments:

> Two basic criticisms are leveled against children's institutions. First, they are charged with adjusting children to institutions rather than preparing them for a return to community living. Secondly, they are viewed as refusing to serve or otherwise not serving those children most in need of residential care ... Our experiment must seek to reverse these conditions, in as many ways as possible. We aim to

> reduce the focus on institutional adjustment and foster preparation for community living. We also aim at moving institutions toward accepting more and more difficult and other types of children such as sibling groups - in need of residential care but not now getting it.
>
> In part, these goals can be approached only in so far as we move institutions away from acceptance of their dumping ground role and toward an aggressive innovative stance in providing services to children in need. They must become increasingly agressive, also in demanding responsible and continuing involvement from parents, agencies and others in the lives of children in residence. Finally, they must be moved toward a conscious awareness of and prevention of the process of institutional adjustment. (Memorandum of the Regional Institute of Social Welfare, School of Social Work, University of Georgia, pg.

Five instruments were developed for obtaining data on the children and their families. Nearly all of the resident children (1800) have been tested throughout the system and this data has been used to examine the effects of staff-child interaction on treatment and to assess the effects of the structure of programs on children. Another group of instruments was collected to assess the staffs' orientation toward their jobs, receptivity to community-oriented care and their philosophy about child rearing practices.

The institutions selected for the study varied in terms of their current baseline of community orientedness. While it was clearly impossible to randomly assign institutions to different conditions, reasonably experimental conditions were imposed in that they were matched on the basis of previously known baseline information, the agendas for change were similar and the roles of staff as change agents were comparable. Each approach differed in the way it sought to use participants in the discussions to stimulate social pressure and to provide information relevant to family-oriented care.

The content or focus for the three different approaches to bringing about change was identical and had essentially two dimensions. The first dimension emphasized responding to community need with subparts defining service needs, processing of services needs and adapting to new ones. The second dimension emphasized preparing residents for return to the community through institutional program experiences, through decision making involvement and through preparation in placement planning and follow-up services.

One of the preliminary findings reported by the principal investigator at a conference was the effect of decentralizing decision making in institutions. The principal investigator suggested that in decentralized institutions the staff have more impact on the behavior of children than staff in institutions where decision making takes place at higher levels. He suggested that if you have good staff in an institution, decentralize it and they may be more effective in working with children. If you have poor staff, "keep them under your thumb" and prevent them from doing harm. These findings were based on data derived from all the staff, the questionnaires and data collected from the staff and children in various institutions. These tentative findings and many others which should be forthcoming in final reports and publications will no doubt be of great value in understanding the processes of residential treatment and exploring strategies for changing both individual institutions and systems of institutions toward improved, community oriented care.

In terms of research such a program is of great significance in that, systems-wise, it deals with the entire state system of child caring services, develops baseline measures and experiments with different strategies for increasing community orientation. The extent to which a technique is successful can be assessed in comparison to baseline data and to institutions which used other techniques. In short, the research is remarkable for its scope and its attempt to utilize, in so far as possible, relatively rigorous experimental procedures. It promises to shed much light on the relative effectiveness of various techniques in orienting child caring institutions to community needs and to preparing children for return to the community rather than for life in institutions.

Lewis (1968) reports results of a preliminary evaluation of the Re-Ed project, which has been described elsewhere (Hobbs 1964, 1966). The data gathered in the evaluation of the program reflect the programs emphasis upon the ecological context of the childs behavioral difficulties and by implication, the program and the evaluation recognize the fact that the effect of any institution is determined largely by its place within the larger social system. For example, the author says:

> Because of the ecological bias in appraising children's problems, in establishing goals and developing programs of re-education, the data gathered to help evaluate the effectiveness of the Re-Ed schools lean heavily on the perceptions of the child by those who are his natural evaluators: his parents, teachers, and peers. They are asked to describe him during the application process - before he is enrolled in the Re-Ed school - on check lists, rating scales, open ended questions and sociometric questionnaires.

> They describe his behavior again after he has returned from the Re-Ed school and still again after he has been home for more than a year. These periodic assessments are aimed at plotting changes in valence of the child for those who know him best and whose judgements about the adequacy of his performance are most potent. This emphasis in evaluation is based on the assumption that a more positive appraisal of the child's performance is essential to reinstatement of mutually rewarding relationships that in the past have been blocked during the time he was seen "as emotionally disturbed." (p. 17)

Data was collected a few weeks prior to admission, 5 to 6 months after discharge and 18 to 20 months after discharge. At these points, the following instruments were used:

1) The child's mother, the worker from the referring agency and the liason teacher assessed the childs behavior on a five point scale ranging from "worse" to "greatly improved".

2) On a symptom check list of 36 behaviors "ascribed for emotionally disturbed children", the parents were asked to indicate the frequency of each behavior in the preceding two weeks.

3) A Social Maturity Scale adapted from the Vineland Social Maturity Scale was filled out by the parents.

4) A semantic differential scale measured the discrepancy between what the child was like in comparison to what the parents wanted the child to be like, with 19 items such as happy, sad, adventurous, timid, etc.

5) On a scale developed to assess student role behavior, 27 questions were presented, such as "does he usually listen well enough to understand directions?" Is he careless or lazy about his work?", etc. These items were designed to reflect

teachers' expectations of the child.

5) Tapping another facet of the child's adjustment sociometric data were collected by the child's peers, such as "Who would you invite to your birthday party?" or "Who would you not invite to your birthday party?", etc.

In general the three separate observers — parents, teachers and peers — i.e. his or her natural evaluators, who know the child in different contexts, found that about 3/4 of the children seem to have improved on a variety of dimensions. In discussing the results the author states:

> We are faced with the very real question of how much an emotionally disturbed child's behavior may be expected to change simply by getting a year or two older and having additional experiences and opportunities that had not been available before. The social maturity scale is the most extreme example of this source of uncertainty. One would be surprised if the child, even one who could be called emotionally disturbed, did not have significantly higher social maturity ratings after a lapse of two years. Our concern in evaluating a program of treatment is the extent to which one may attribute the change to treatment rather than to maturation alone. (1964, p. 24)

The author is obviously aware of the problems of conducting evaluative studies in the absence of an appropriate control group, etc. It goes without saying that one would expect an improvement in social maturity in the course of almost 2 years between the pre and post observations.

However, the study is of interest as an evaluative study in that the instruments are tailored to assess the goals of the program; namely, to achieve a greater harmony between the child and his or her family, community and school. This is related to the goal of the Re-Ed program, not to treat a disturbed child with a specific psychopathology but instead to change a disturbed ecological unit; i.e., make the child more acceptable and his environment more accepting.

A study by Bower et al. (1969) of the Re-Ed project, while not a systems approach, illustrates another strategy of evaluation; i.e., observation by a panel of experts knowledgeable in the field of residential child care. The evaluators made relatively independent observations of the program over a period of years and in the process, shared and discussed them. Given their experience and knowledge of the field, and considering the problems of evaluative research, such an approach to evaluation may prove useful and inexpensive. Concerning the issues of evaluation and of sustaining support for the program on the basis of such an evaluation, Hobbs, says in the introduction:

> The idea of asking four men to watch closely the development of a project and to assert finally their appraisal of it is a simple one. Statistical results however favorable seldom determine the fate of social institutions. What is most important in assessing a new idea is the evaluation of informed, competent, professional observers whose judgement is respected by their professional colleagues and by the decision makers in society. (p. 2)

We will return to this idea, of observation by a professional as a means of evaluation, at a later point.

The Residential Center As A Social System

Another type of systems evaluation is the analysis of the residential center as a social system. Systems analyses are evaluative in the sense that they examine the functional and dysfunctional aspects of programs and the extent to which programs meet the requirements or prerequisites of social systems. A systems-type evaluation may examine a program in terms of the efficiency of its allocation of resources. Intramural program evaluation in a systems perspective, in contrast to evaluations of the supra systems of which the residential program is but a part, addresses itself simultaneously to the overall, net efficiency of the total program and to the relative contribution of each system or component of the program, such as therapy, education and child care.

One such study is The Dynamics of Residential Treatment (1968) by Polsky and Claster in collaboration with Goldberg in which the analysis of social systems is utilized to conceptualize the dynamics of residential treatment. They discuss the goals of this research and its implications for residential treatment and the role of child care workers as follows:

> We probe beneath the label "residential worker" to examine the actual demands and responsibilities placed upon this pivotal position. If we can uncover the interplay of functional activities in the role, we can begin to develop the appropriate training program for persons in charge of this complex system. A valid portrayal of the diverse functions within the overall role may enable us to develop a more effective treatment approach to cottage and institutional life. (p. 11)

The authors relate Parson's (1951) functional imperatives to four major aspects of the child care workers role; i.e., 1) nurturer and comforter, 2) counselor, guide and teacher, 3) mediator, integrator and custodian, and 4) monitor and supervisor. Using these functional roles, the authors analyze the role of the cottage worker within the social system of the cottage and the larger institution.

The research model for the study was based on cottage comparison. Modes of staff functioning in each of the three cottages were compared. Individual counselors' methods were contrasted, differences among cottage peer groups were assessed and finally, these different levels of comparisons were interrelated. Data was collected in the course of systematic observations which were carried on in three senior cottage units and represented systematic and comprehensive observations of cottage life. Schedules were established for making observations and observers were trained in the demarcation and coding of events. The final observation schedule consisted of 31 items and an instruction manual which specified guidelines for coding events and pinpointing the criteria for coding distinctions.

Reliabilities of the observations consisted of two aspects:

> 1) The first is selection of the event and the reliability in coding the content of the event. In selecting events, reliabilities were established by having two observers select events and rate them over a three week period prior to the period of the study. Reliabilities for coding 213 dually observed events ranged between 57% and 98% with a median of 69%.
>
> 2) Items involved in the coding of items concerning monitoring, guidance, support and integration were coded less reliably due to the greater amount of inference required. They were coded with 50% agreement for the boy's behavior and 59% for the staff behavior and were judged to reflect difficulties inherent in such complex judgement. (p. 34)

For one such item on the observation scale, item number 20, there was 50% agreement on the function emphasized by staff in the initial period. It increased to 75% during the middle phase and fell off to 56% in the final phase. The authors say of their levels of reliability:

> On the basis of this experience we would emphasize the need for greater sustained attention to the reliability of the observations than was maintained in this study. (p.34)

The comment speaks for itself and for the study which is based on this data and its coding.

Observations about staff functioning in relation to the boys in each of three different cottages were compared. In addition, staff variability within the three cottages was examined by analyzing the content of staff-child interaction in terms of variations in and contrasts of the different functional imperatives that staff emphasized. Breakdowns of the emphasis of functions by boys and counselors were made on the basis of individual cottage, staff and boy.

In discussing the findings, the authors state:

> We take the position that there is no fixed pattern of counselor emphasis that is best for all situations, but that each group must be diagnosed and a plan formulated in relation to this diagnosis. At this point, let us simply state some working principles that should be taken into account in developing such a group treatment plan.
>
> 1) Autonomy - The resident group should learn to run itself.
>
> 2) The ultimate primacy of the consummatory functions - for a resident group to function autonomously it must not get bogged down in the instrumental activities of custodial and individual gratification; it must eventually see instrumental functions as the means to achieve the ultimate gratifications of goal attainment in integration.

3) Time sequence of functions - staff should not move too quickly toward consummatory functions. There is a natural sequence of group development, as there is in individual child development. In the case of the residential cottages, a foundation of adaptation and individual gratification must be achieved first. The success of the goal attainment in the integration effort is built on this foundation.

4) Identification - If the group respects a counselor they may begin an activity to win his approval even though they don't see it as meeting their needs at the time.

5) Internalization - An activity at first carried out to gain adult approval can come to be satisfying in itself as it becomes part of the residents' value structure. (p. 60)

Such a group treatment plan, while tentative, takes into account the nature of the group, how the various functions are met, the variations within the group and between different individual and group roles, and it represents an attempt at a more precise prescription for creating and using a therapeutic milieu. The degree to which the "treatment plan" is carried out can be assessed quantitatively and its effect determined. In short, such a system analysis of the group provides the theoretical basis for developing and assessing treatment plans.

The authors use the concept of role to examine the nature of peer-group structures and describe emergent roles in the peer group; i.e., the responsibilities that exist before anyone steps in to meet them. For example, there may be a battle between two boys for leadership of cottage peers. The leadership poisiton for which they are struggling is a role and the struggle itself is evidence that there is something meaningful for which they are competing. The degree of peer group structure was measured by determing the extent to which there was consensus on whom the incumbents of given roles were. The cottages were found to differ not so much in the roles per se as in the degree of respect afforded different roles.

The relationship between peer group structure and cottage management is subsequently explored. In general it is suggested that while personality characteristics may explain some of the qualities of the peer group, the peer group also responds to the staff, staff's enacting of roles, and their selective emphasis on functional imperatives, etc. The authors suggest that as a result of the stronger emphasis on integration found in one cottage the cottage had developed more positive peer roles than the other cottages.

Going beyond the relation of peer group structure, values and role emphasis to look at the cottage staff, the authors related data to the larger institution:

> Based upon the data that we have gathered, we can make several interpretations about the worker's role in the cottage and the institution. The unanticipated consequences of the custodial emphasis is the imposition of minimumly accepted standards upon the residents in the cottage. The minimum standard performance tends to become a common pattern for most residents and thus become maximum standards for them. Minimum performance by workers and residence leads to a discrepancy in the organizational goals held by the administrators and the way of life that is generated in the cottages. Pressures are then placed upon supervisors to check more closely upon cottage workers. This increases the visability of the actual relationship between workers and residents in the cottage, leads to increasing tensions, and disturbs the equilibrium of the system. (p. 149).

Some of the more significant achievements of the authors are their development and application of a social systems perspective, their analysis and description of the program, and their attempt to provide or to develop empirical measures to describe and evaluate the program. The authors state:

> In advancing a concept of residential care which includes description, evaluation and planning for a cottage social system, we are indicating an ideal. It does not, of course, come about all at once. But in time and with proper training we suggest a team of cottage workers can learn to develop rather comprehensive plans for cottages and periodically reassess and reformulate them within this social system theory of child care. (p. 149-150).

It is in this regard that Polsky and Claster make the most important contribution to the evaluation of residential treatment programs; namely, analyzing and describing them within the theoretical framework of a social systems analysis. Whatever the limitations, specifically the reliability of their observations and the usefulness of the functional imperatives, their emphasis on the residential treatment program as a social system will go a long way toward achieving their goal of formulating the empirical work on a sufficiently broad theoretical base so as to render it applicable with minimum variation to small group systems in diverse other settings as well. The significance of their application of a systems approach is expressed succinctly by Leonard S. Cottrell of the Russell Sage Foundation which sponsored the study:

> . . . a sophisticated analysis of the social and cultural processes in a given institution is a basic requirement for any intelligent planning for the development of a therapeutic milieu. This is no job for amateurs. The level of technical knowledge and skill required is fully comparable to that required for the understanding of intrapsychic processes.
>
> . . . the mere juxtaposition of a social science based restructuring of the institutional milieux

> and a clinical procedure based on one or another of the variants psychodynamic theory will not be sufficient for an adequate program. Clinical analysis and treatment directed toward the individual must be conducted with a clear knowledge and understanding of what is taking place in the social context; and the strategy of milieu structuring must take fully into account the clinical analyses of the person involved. (p. 7, 8).

Another contribution is their sensitivity to the many conflicts inherent in the custodial and therapeutic responsibilitie of the resident care workers. For example, they conclude that overbearing concern with the custodial functions is incompatible with therapeutic goals. They suggest that the solution is to upgrade the child care worker's job by implementing the following ideas:

> 1) a new concept of child care work that transends the custodial emphasis but does not deny its crucial importance,
>
> 2) a training program in which workers can develop practical group and community skills and a deeper theoretical understanding of working with residents so as to constantly increase their decision making and autonomy; and
>
> 3) recruitment of more competent workers who can be trained to assume these new tasks in child care. (p. 177).

Objective descriptions and theoretical understandings of residential treatment programs, such as provided by Dynamics of Residential Treatment, are essential to the development of more effective, objective and transmittable ways of organizing and maintaining residential treatment programs for children.

In an earlier study, Polsky and Kohn (1959) adapted Bales' Interaction Process Analysis (1950) to produce individual and group curves and to pin down pathological group processes in order to study groups before, during and after therapeutic intervention. The study is significant for showing how strategic areas for intervention into the cottage culture could be identified, which helped to bring the cottage culture into line with larger therapeutic goals and values, i.e., to allow more efficient use of the cottage and the group as a therapeutic tool.

Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment (1962) by Polsky, is a study of the often-neglected impact of peer group cultures on residential treatment. It was a participant observation study of a cottage, which was generally regarded as the toughest in a large residential treatment program. The book is significant in that it emphasizes the need for understanding ~~of~~ both intrapsychic phenomena and the sub-culture or peer group influence on therapeutic endeavors.

In analyzing the delinquent subculture in Cottage Six, Polsky delineates the norms, activities, internal organization and the personalities of the members involved in the delinquent sub-culture. In a section on deviant processes he suggests that there are five different styles of interaction and corresponding peer group roles which members learn to conform to and which reaffirm group norms.

The boys in fact spent the majority of their time with peers, while:

> . . .The professional staff, who are in many ways closest to individual boys, are paradoxically the farthest removed from the cottage sub-culture.

> . . .The staff are not only isolated from the boys in the functioning of the institution; they are also remote from the boys in terms of their cultural backgrounds and values. (p. 150).

Summarizing his analysis of the delinquent sub-culture and its relationship to the longer organization and therapeutic goals, Polsky says:

> While the professional staff are preoccupied with changing individual boys' values and personality structures, the cottage social organization subverts their efforts. A stable pattern of accomodation emerges between cottage staff and boys, on one hand and, on the other, between the professional and non-professional child care staff. These systems cooperate implicitly to sustain the boys' organization in the cottage. The tough aggressive peer leader in the community covertly receives recognition not only from the cottage staff but from the removed professional group as well. (p. 170).

Polsky's study is a systems evaluation in that it analyzes the delinquent subgroup within the context of therapeutic goals and the organization of the residential treatment facility. It is also an example of the usefulness of participant observation, and the data clearly demonstrates the way in which the organizational goals were subverted by the delinquent subculture.

Finally, a book of readings by Polsky et al., Social system Perspectives in Residential Treatment, (1970) seeks to "present, within a coehesive theoretical framework, an accumulating base of theory and treatment in residential institutions." (p. 3). The book examines within a general theory of social action framework, the way residential treatment institutions maintain themselves, adapt to external and internal changes, and most importantly, the way many unintended consequences of residential institutions effect the achievement of therapeutic goals.

In general the book is valuable in that it represents a much needed attempt to "demonstrate that contemporary social science does have an over-arching theory that is useful to practitioners." (p. 3). In terms of the attempt to conceptualize residential treatment from a social systems perspective and in terms of the content of the articles, the book makes a significant and useful contribution.

Although most of the articles are not specifically relevant to the analysis, and in that sense, to evaluation of residential treatment programs for disturbed children, some articles do deal with the organizational dilemmas inherent in residential treatment. For example, Piliavin's article, "Conflict between Cottage Parents and Caseworkers" (1963) describes a study of the attitudes of cottage parents and caseworkers toward each other as expressed in interviews. In both custodial and treatment-oriented programs, including one which sought to meliorate the commonly recognized mutual antagonisms, he found that the case workers were critical of cottage parents because of their emphasis on control, their intrusion into casework and their inability to carry out treatment plans. Conversely, cottage parents tended to regard caseworkers as unrealistic in regard to their relations with children and their expectations about "treatment." Concurrent with these mutually negative attitudes, was the fact that case workers and cottage parents had little formal or even informal contact. The author questions whether more contact between them might exacerbate the conflict. In conclusion, the author suggests a major restructuring of the roles, such as locating caseworkers in the cottage or having one professional assigned both casework and cottage parent responsibilities.

In Polsky's paper, (1970) "Changing Delinquent Sub-Cultures: A Social Psychological Approach," Polsky discusses methods for evaluating change in the group's structure and interaction. Rather than trying to assess changes in individual personality traits and attitudes, he says:

> Any evaluative program for gauging change in a group natural setting offers tremendous problems for those who are sticklers for reliability and validity. The fact is, we have little systematic knowledge of successful intervention in a delinquent group as an ongoing social system. Although there have been more than seventy years of experimentation with these strategies, little work has been done to date to validate their therapeutic influence. Empirical experiments are sorely lacking in the field.
>
> The measurement of change from a delinquent social structure to a less delinquent one involves focusing upon the boys' interactions, the group norms and roles, and the extent of involvement in nondeviant activities. Each one of these realms of group processes can be defined in operational terms. In our studies, we have focused primarily on peer group interactional processes as a basic criterion of change. (p. 696).

These and other articles are of both substantive and theoretical value. Although the diversity of the articles and their theoretical framework precludes a tighter integration into a theory of social action, the book provides a much needed social systems perspective; i.e., viewing treatment endeavors in a social context and viewing that context holistically and in terms of the interrelations of the various components.

Henry, in an article entitled "Types of Institutional Structures" (1957), also employs a systems approach to contrast two types of social structures characteristic of residential treatment centers. The author describes four types of structures and contrasts the structure characteristic of the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School with that of a more traditional and psychiatric hospital.

The Orthogenic School is regarded as a structure with simple, undifferentiated subordination; there is one director with a staff responsible for all phases of the operation. The staff are responsible for the child care and individual psychotherapy and have an intense involvement in all phases of the child's life. Contrasted with this is a system with multiple, differentiated subordination. In such a system the therapeutic tasks of a psychiatric hospital are typically broken down into nursing care, individual psychotherapy, child care, educational programs, occupational therapy, etc. Staff, such as nurses, are subject to multiple supervision; i.e., from physicians, from charge nurses, the department head, etc.

This paper is extremely important as an attempt to analyze the types of social structures which are utilized in various organizations and to trace out the impact which these social systems have on the values, roles and relationships of staff, the systems of authority, and the role of the director. In mental health settings particularly many organizational problems are understood in terms of psychological explanations, such as personality conflicts.[7] The relative lack of awareness of how programs are organized in relation to their goals is startling when contrasted with the level of psychological awareness, which, while valuable, is not necessarily applicable and often reflects relative naivete about organizational analysis, social structure and the analysis of social structures vis a vis their implications for therapy.

Approaching these problems from a systems perspective, this paper explicates the ways in which particular structures effect the endeavors of the actors in the systems; such an analysis, of how the program is organized to achieve its goals, is essential as the first step of evaluation.

In a table contrasting the two different organizations with regard to their physical plants, task performances, worker personalities, and directors, he summarizes the differences in terms of the actors' expectations which are logically related to the way the programs are organized:

> The differences presented in this table are paralleled by differences in value orientation. A review of the analysis of the structures and their properties show that the differences between them are identifiable, specific and systematic, and thus leaves no doubt that the identified properties are inseparately related to the structure types. From this it flows that, when certain properties, such as autonomy and attachment, are desired, a specific type of structure must be devised to produce them as a necessary consequences; and that when certain properties appear within the system, their origins must be sought first in the structure of the system. (p. 59).

In summary, Henry's article illuminates a much neglected area, of residential treatment, the organization of programs vis a vis their goals and the far reaching consequences of specific organizations for the actors. It is an excellent example of a systems analysis.

Comparison of System Efficiency

Where program evaluation is concerned, comparative evaluation may be difficult because, as Henry's article illustrates, each program may present a unique configuration or organization of its activities. A difficulty for comparative evaluations arises in that there may not be systematic points of comparison between programs. Evaluation must consequently take into account the concepts of equicausality and equifinality. In brief equicausality means that you can arrive at different ends with the same initial factors and conversely, equifinality means that you can arrive at the same end by different routes. In short, residential treatment can be provided in a variety of ways and there are many different configurations of the basic elements for caring for and treating children. Given the problem of defining clearly what successful treatment is, much less defining clear, reliable and valid operational measures, the possibilities for comparative outcome studies with instruments which are relevant across programs are severely limited.

In fact, however, people choose between programs and comparative evaluations are of practical value, however limited they may be theoretically. It is unlikely that new programs will be created but more likely that custodially-oriented programs will be upgraded in the direction of a treatment orientation. Presumably comparative evaluation of some sort will play a role in these choices.

An excellent example of this is Street, et al, Organization for Treatment (1966) a comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of different types of institutions.

As a comparative study, it is of particular interest to a systems evaluation in that, while it seeks to assess outcomes in the different institutions, it avoids the difficult and lack of applicability of outcome studies because it deals with the issue of how effectively institutions are organized to achieve their goals. The study is also unique in that it provided relatively ongoing feedback to the institutions which allowed them to make "mid-course" corrections; this relatively immediate use of data is often impossible with outcome studies.

It is also of interest in that it portrays a variety of resources for the treatment of delinquents. In this country, 50% of the delinquents are treated in what would roughly be considered custodial orientation, while the remaining delinquent population is divided equally among the treatment and re-educational-developmental institutions. The data on inmate and staff attitudes in these institutions have important implications for our ideas about the treatment of delinquents.

Its strategy of evaluation is to compare the different institutions chosen on the basis of their different philosophies of treatment and organizational structures and to relate these differences to measures relevant to evaluation; namely, attitudes of staff toward inmates and of inmates toward staff, the program, themselves and peers. A comparative evaluation of different organizations and of their impact on inmates at one point in time has the advantage of avoiding a follow-up study and the methodological and practical problems involved with it. As criteria for success it uses positive attitudes about staff, institution and peers, instead of measures of recidivism, etc. The assumption is made that positive evaluations of the institution and personnel can be equated with success and thus are the criteria for evaluations of comparative success.

The authors describe their research as:

> ...comparative, inclusive and to some extent longitudinal. We studied a non-random sample of 6 institutions, selected to maximize differences in goals but including both public and private, and large and small organizations. The study was inclusive in embracing all major levels of organizational activity along with relevant groups external to the institutions. It was longitudinal not only in that we attempted to reconstruct the histories of these organizations but also in that we collected the major bodies of our data at two points in time, although only one year apart. (p. 22-23).

Six institutions were chosen which emphasized one of these goals: 1) obedience and conformity, 2) re-education and development and 3) treatment. The researchers had hoped to find an institution reflecting mixed goals but this did not occur. Data was collected by making observations of all aspects of the program. Interviews, both structured and unstructured of all segments of the staff, including administrators, educators and inmates, were conducted; anonymous questionnaires were administered to both staff and inmates. A search of the records and written material describing the program was made in order to provide demographic and other information about staff and inmates. Two surveys were taken approximately a year apart in order to provide data on the impact of more recent treatment orientations in the institutions. Between the first and second wave of questionnaires, executive seminars were set up so that data derived from the first study could be fed back to the organization, both to facilitate change and to make the evaluative data more readily available to the institutions.

One of the important hypotheses tested was whether institutions' goals would have an effect on the organization and on the behavior of staff and inmates; i.e., whether the treatment ideology effected the organization and roles of those within the organization. Briefly, the results of the study indicate that the goals of the institutions were reflected to a large extent in organizational behavior and attitudes, including staff perceptions of the institution, their beliefs about the inmates and their techniques for handling inmates. Executive strategies in dealing with the external environment, defining staff roles and tasks and the internal organization were similarly found to be related to goals. It was found that staff-inmate authority relations, rewards and sanctions, and the characteristic types of control were generally/related to the type of organization and to staff perception of the inmates. The more treatment or educationally-oriented programs had more positive responses in terms of inmate attitudes than the obedience-conformity institutions.

Some of the other interpretations of the findings raise questions about Goffman's stereotype of the total institution

(1961). The study indicated that the six institutions varied considerably with regard to their internal structure and orientation to patients and that the stereotype of the total institution was just that — a stereotype — often in exact in particular cases. Other findings were that executives were relatively ignorant of many aspects of their organization, including the backgrounds of staff and the daily activities of individuals. In all institutions the executives were concerned about staff not relating properly to the inmates. Depending upon the type of institution, the executives felt that staff were either overly involved (in the treatment setting) or not strict enough (in the custodial setting). The authors suggest that there is a need for executives to have ongoing and current information about the functioning of their institution and staff.

In these comparative evaluations, significant data were the responses of the inmates about the value of the institution, their perceptions of relationships with staff, their self concepts and their attitudes about peers and the inmate culture. Some of the variation in these attitudes could be explained by background information, such as number of arrests and convictions, social-economic background, etc., which was related to the selective recruitment of inmates. Despite this factor, inmate attitudes about the institutions and themselves were related to the nature of the institution. Thus, while some of the variance could be accounted for by the characteristics of the inmate population, the effects of the organization, its goals and relationships were pronounced.

Delinquent subculture and peer group resistance to institutional change have been the concerns of both correctional and treatment programs. The study found that the leaders and followers were more antagonistic to institutions with a custodial-orientation and consequently sought to subvert it. Their subversion often entailed playing it cool and appearing to conform while subverting the system. In the same institutions, staff held negative and antagonistic views of peer groups and as a result, were likely to set in motion a self-fulfilling prophecy, which further antagonized and exacerbated the conflict.

In conclusions drawn from this study, the authors suggest that the success of the re-education and developmental type programs was close to that of the far more costly treatment-oriented ones, as measured by perception of the institution by inmates, self-concept, etc. They caution, however, that the differences may have been the result of the fact that the re-education programs were smaller, the fact that they were relatively open institutions and consequently, that their inmates were involved in the community. Should these institutions have developed their own schools and become closed, they might have been found to "backslide" to the level of the more custodial programs. This finding is suggestive and provides some empirical data for the introduction of treatment concepts into correctional facilities. However, differences in the institutions could theoretically be explained in terms of other variables such as size, unique history, staff commitment, etc., and it is difficult to extrapolate because of these uncontrolled variables.

The authors were concerned with the introduction of a treatment orientation into custodial institutions. They did not find a bifurcation between treatment-oriented and custodial staff but they did suggest that the success of making such a transition was to a large extent dependent upon the way in which the treatment orientation was introduced into the program and the degree of support and flexibility staff had in implementing programs. There are many ramifications associated with the introduction of a treatment orientation based on the model of two person therapy into an institution, and enthusiastic support and leadership are necessary ingredients in integrating the treatment orientation with a basically custodial one.

Descriptive Studies

Much of the research to date has been descriptions of individual treatment programs written by people involved in these programs and frequently the descriptive accounts are mixed with efforts to explicate and justify a particular program's approach and rationale. These descriptions are perhaps the first level of evaluative research and some of these are included here, either because of their historical importance or because they deal with systems at a more descriptive level.

Relatively few residential treatment programs have been created de novo. More typically they have evolved from orphanages, shelters, etc. on the one hand, or from hospitals seeking to minimize the hospital culture because of its inappropriateness for socializing children, on the other. Alt's book, *Residential Treatment for the Disturbed Child*, (International Universities Press, New York, 1960) provides an engaging account of the evolution of a residential treatment program from its early days as a state training school, when the neighbors were notified by a blast on the powerhouse whistle that a boy had run away and that anyone returning him would receive a reward. The book is of particular value as a record, documented with personal observations and memoranda of the transition. This transition is of particular relevance because it is unlikely that many new treatment programs will be built to provide treatment for the many disturbed; more likely, existing institutions will change in the direction of becoming more treatment-oriented. Other literature which discusses such transitions and traces out the repercussions on staff, patients, communication, etc. of changes in administrative or formal systems can be found in Berman (1961), Konopka et al. (1961), and the previously cited preliminary study of Thomas (1972).

Descriptive studies of residential treatment programs for children which are historically important include Reid's and Hagen *Residential Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children: A Descriptive Study* (1952), Loughmiller's book *Wilderness Road* (1965), the Child Welfare League of America's publication *From Chaos to Order: A Collective View of Residential Treatment of Children* (1972), and Martin Gula's *Agency Operated Group Homes: A Casebook* (1965).

While not evaluative in nature, Reid and Hagan's study developed comparable descriptions which provide baseline information about 12 different residential treatment programs. With regard to determining the comparative efficacy of the treatment programs, the authors state:

> Determination of the comparative efficacy of treatment procedures used must await a much greater refinement of research method than is available at the present. Longitudinal, clinical studies may be necessary to resolve these questions. However, at this stage of knowledge these different approaches to the treatment of children are a positive manifestation. For, were only one method followed, discovery of new techniques in this area would be seriously jeopardised. (p. viii).

This statement, written in 1952, continues to be applicable to the determination of the comparative efficacies of treatment procedures and of residential treatment itself.

A similar casebook, edited by Gula, describes 15 group homes and is significant in that the use of group homes in the treatment of disturbed children is increasing. While descriptive in a nuts-and-bolts fashion, Agency Operated Group Homes: A Casebook (Gula, 1965) does provide some basic data on how a variety of group homes is sponsored, organized and used for treatment. This approach is relevant given the trend away from large total institutions and the attempt to develop community-based facilities to avoid the problems of prolonged institutionalization as well as to prepare children for community living.

From Chaos to Order: A Collective View of Residential Treatment of Children (1972), written by a variety of task forces drawn from members of the American Association of Children's Residential Centers, provides an overview of problems in residential treatment. Among other topics, it deals with the administrative problems of interrelating residential treatment and individual psychotherapy in the residential setting, the elements and structure of a therapeutic milieu and the roles of child care workers and teachers in the residential setting. In the introduction, the current state of affairs is residential treatment is described as follows:

> Residential treatment is today trembling on the brink of becoming a science. Until recently, it was about at the same level of sophistication as say, motherhood; it was humane, intimate, complicated and important, but rather undescribable and unqualifiable - some people did it well, some poorly and it was hard to tell anyone "how to".
>
> In the hands of many current practitioners it has gradually come to assume the dimensions of a skill and a practice; in the hands of a few it is becoming almost a science. We might say that we are in the alchemist stage of development; we have many questions and many methods, but we are not always sure that our answers are the right ones, or that our methods will bring us answers to them. (p. 1).

In a section on organization, communication and structure, the authors summarize the book by saying that the recurrent organizational problems in residential treatment, some of which are characteristic of all organizations, must be given attention if the organizational and professional goals of residential treatment are to be efficiently integrated. While it would be difficult to build a case against developing organizations that fit the various characteristics that are subsequently described — i.e., clear definition of organizational goals and individual roles, control and mediation of structural conflicts, maximumally efficient programs, etc. — the specific means for achieving a correct and efficient integration of the various components of the organization are not spelled out.

Nonetheless, the authors do attempt to delineate problem areas and to specify criteria for effective organization, communication and structure.

In contrast to other books reviewed, Loughmiller's book Wilderness Road (1965) describes a radical alternative social system for the residential treatment of disturbed children, raises questions about the use of the school or hospital as the model for residential treatment programs and makes a compelling case for the therapeutic potential of a flexible, open-ended, child-oriented, year-round camping program.[8] The author builds a strong argument for removing children from the pressure cooker of school, work, and family, the institutions in which they have experienced failures, and from programs, such as residential treatment programs, which tend to reflect the assumptions and expectations of these institutions. Camping is generally less threatening, is generally accepted as a positive experience and may allow the creation of a milieu more tailored to the needs, interests and abilities of each camper. While the evaluation of the program is too sketchy, the book raises some provocative questions about residential treatment models.

Subsystems: Conflicts and Working Solutions

Residential treatment programs have often been examined in terms of their three major spheres of activity; namely, therapy, education and child care. For historical and other reasons, programs have integrated, emphasized and designed these spheres in different ways and have arrived at unique solutions geared to their own resources, orientations and philosophies.

The fact that programs have different routes to a variety of types of treatment makes it difficult to develop a comprehensive and coherent body of knowledge and theory about residential treatment. Whittaker (Whittaker and Trieschman, 1972), commenting on this said:

> From its beginning, residential treatment has been operating on a patchwork of theoretical remnants borrowed from child guidance practice, traditional psychotherapy, social group work and special education. The actual practices and standards of evaluation for residential treatment have had more to do with the needs and requirements of the mental health professionals than with the needs of the children such settings were designed to serve. Most so-called therapeutic milieus (and who would admit to having anything else?), pay lip service to the value of life space therapy, while still placing primary responsibility for treatment in the 50 minute hour. It would seem time that those professionals interested and involved in residential treatment begin to develop models of intervention that would eventuate in a unified theory base for residentual therapy .... (p. 105, 106).

Given the diversity of philosphies and programs, the concept of eqifinality, introduced earlier, is important because it takes into account the fact that programs can have different organizations, rationales and strategies for providing residential treatment. It follows, then, that one may have to look at each program in terms of its own world view, organizational strategies, and unique configurations of resources, personalities, etc. Given that organizing programs in different ways does not preclude goal achievement and as there is yet to be demonstrated a "correct" way of providing treatment, it follows that one approach to evaluation is to assess the efficiency of each organization, irrespective of its outcome and comparisons to other programs.

Cutting across the issue of unique configurations of subsystems is the issue of how programs attempt to both "raise" and treat in the same setting. The potential incompatibility of the socializing and treatment goals of these institutions is a structural dilemma reflected throughout the literature. Redl and Robinson (1956) for example, distinguish between the needs of the children as children whose development must be stimulated, as contrasted with their needs as patients, whose pathology must be taken into account in ward design and control. Bettleheim and Sylvester (1948) make the same point in discussing "psychological institutionalism," an emotional syndrome developed by children institutionalized in non-therapeutic institutions.

When an adult comes into a residential facility his or her "illness" is presumably the focus of attention. The work of Goffman (1961) and others highlights the dangers of prolonged institutionalization and has raised the question of the extent to which the chronic schizophrenic syndrome may be an iatrogenic illness or an adaptation to the culture of the hospital. Since children normally undergo enculturation in the years in which they are also being treated, the risks of their being inadvertently socialized to the patient role are greater. While theoretically the goals and means of treating children and "raising" them are separable, the distinctions are easily blurred in the day-to-day routines, the activities, and the nature of the relationships between staff and children.

In the early development of residential treatment, the emphasis was on therapy, while child care and education assumed less importance.[9] The purpose of the residential aspect of the center was often to contain the children in the interim when they were not in therapy. The therapy was often analytic in nature and in many ways, incompatible with involvement in the child's living situation. In the psychoanalytic frame of reference, the therapist seeks minimal reality-oriented involvement with the patient and uses his neutrality to highlight the patient's transference. For example, a psychiatrist was on a hospital ward, when one of his patients grabbed the keys and ran off with them. He turned to the nurse, whose role is to carry out doctor's orders, and told her to retrieve the keys. She protested, saying that he should do it since be was bigger. His reply was, "I can't do that, he's my patient."

In one program the author is familiar with, the therapist had administrative control over the children. It was the therapist's role to decide when a child was ready to go home, to decide on foster placement, approve week-end passes, etc. Such administrative responsibilities may conflict with therapeutic goals. In this setting, child care workers were expected not to deal with unconscious material but to refer it back to the therapist who would handle it in the context of the therapy session. This left staff dealing with acting-out behavior but with no means of treating it as such. It also appeared that children were reluctant to get involved in heated negative transference with their therapist because they were aware that the therapist also made the decisions about their going home, etc. As a result, they may have shyed away from such therapeutic involvement.

The issue of confidentiality in residential treatment has also been a vexing problem in the past. To what extent can a therapist discuss what has gone on in their therapy sessions with child care workers, when in the more narrow psychoanalytic sense, this is confidential? A similar conflict arises in group therapy. In many group therapy situations, individuals have relatively little contact with one another outside of the therapy session and they discuss their problems, anxieties and difficulties with people they are not involved with in every day situations. Group therapy with individuals who live in the same setting, such as the cottage, has the potential of transforming the personal problems discussed into ammunition to be used in the living situation. The more psychoanalytically-oriented therapies particularly accentuate this conflict, and the literature reflects the difficulty of coordinating the child-caring and therapeutic responsibilities of the residential treatment center, which permeate every aspect of residential treatment.

The almost ubiquitous split and chronic misunderstandings between child care staff and therapists are evidence of the disparity between the goals of treating and raising children.

As discussed by Pilivian (1963), case workers typically resent child care staff's apparent disregard for treatment plans and therapeutic considerations and their preoccupation with control and order. Conversely, child care staff typically resent the unrealistic expectations of therapists and their lack of understanding of the difficulties of living with and controlling disruptive children. Irrespective of the amount of communication between these two, the different nature of their responsibilities, functions, perspectives and relationships with the children leads to conflicts which originate in the conflict between the goals of child-rearing and therapy. Perhaps only a major re-structuring and reconceptualizing of these roles, in order to synthesize and integrate the functions of therapy, child care and education, will eliminate these conflicts.

Some of the working solutions to this dilemma have been reallocations of the therapeutic responsibilities which, depending on the nature of therapy, were formerly restricted to a therapist conducting play therapy, behavior modification, reality therapy or interpretations of resistance and transference. Child care worker, educator and therapist roles are currently undergoing redefinition in this regard.

What Bettleheim (1950) refers to as a marginal interview, what Fraiberg (1956) calls residential casework and what Redl (1959) calls life space interviewing reflect this.

Bettelheim (1950) describes the marginal interview as:

> . . . a conversation between the participant observer and one or more of the participants. It is interpretive in character but does not need to interfere with the momentary activity of the group or individual. The purpose may be to clear up an anxiety that interferes with enjoyment or participation in an activity, or it may be to warn the child of an unavoidable outcome of his behavior that he does not seem to foresee. The talk may simply help him to understand the reasons for his actions, or explain a piece of behavior in another individual that he seems to have misunderstood, etc. One characteristic of this type of marginal conversation is that while it may change the course of events, or the child's view of them, it does not replace the action; the emphasis is rather on their continuing without unnecessary interference. It should rather clear the blocked channels of solitary activity or social interaction, but never take their place.
>
> In this sense it is ego supporting, because it bolsters the ego in continuing the now more reality-correct activity. It does service for the child as in a better integrated child his own ego would serve him. (p. 35).

Redl and Wineman's articles (Redl, 1959; Wineman, 1959) on the life-space interview present it as a means of breaking down the division of staff roles into those who do therapy and those who put the children through daily routines. The life space interview, the goals of which have been described by Redl as "emotional first aid on the spot" and "clinical exploitation of life events", may provide the missing link between analytic therapy in the fifty-minute session and milieu therapy, where everything, including the physical plant, may be considered in terms of its therapeutic value. The use of the life space interview by child care workers requires training in the technique, awareness of indications and counterindications, the long and short range goals of it, etc. and necessitates as well communication between therapists and child care workers. Most important of all, the inclusion of the life-space interview among the techniques of the child care worker redefines the worker's role and has far reaching implications for the role structure of the residential treatment center. (Dittman and Kitchener, 1959).

The number of labels which there are for residential staff - child care workers, cottage parents, counselors, house staff, etc. - reflects the different conceptions of the role and different attitudes toward it. Alt (1953) has stressed the lack of agreement about treatment philosophies and methods and the ramifications of these disagreements for other related issues in residential treatment, such as the qualifications and functions of the staff. There is a corresponding wide range of conceptions of what constitutes adequate preparation and appropriate training for this role. In-service training, mainly efforts to utilize conferences to integrate the treatment and management aspects of training to the role - i.e., training the staff, while integrating them with and encouraging communication with other staff - is described by Matsushima (1964) and Weber (1957).

Bettleheim on the other hand, stresses not preparation for performance of specific tasks but psychological and social development of staff in the hopes that, by developing deeper awareness of their own emotions which are aroused by work with disturbed children, both staff and patients will benefit. (Bettleheim and Wright, 1955). ~~[illegible]~~. Similarly, Schrager (1954) focuses on role conflicts of staff and sees supervision as role clarification, as freeing the worker to act by helping to increase awareness of self as well as of the differing individual needs of the children. All of these labels, training approaches, role definitions, etc., reflect the need for each institution to develop working solutions to the dilemma of raising and treating children.

Another working solution to the dilemma of combining the child care and treatment functions of the residential center has been to try to combine therapy and child care under the aegis of a broadened concept of education similar to the European educateur model, which Bissonnier (1963) describes as follows:

> The three basic tasks of the Educateur are that of serving as a capable overseer of a group of maladjusted children and insuring good order while at the same time executing his essential life tasks; playing the role of older brother or sister or parent when the family is not able to fulfill its social and educative obligation toward their children. At a higher level, the Educateur is coordinator of the daily life activities insuring a cohesive unity in the child's or adolescent's life and also of bringing about a kind of de-conditioning of the disturbed behavior in a milieu that is less frustrating for the child. (p. 636)

In a comprehensive and thorough paper, Linton (1971) presents a rationale for an American Educateur approach to child care and contrasts the European use of the Educateur with the use of child care in the United States. He argues convincingly for its appropriateness and feasibility in residential treatment. Rieger and Devries, in their paper "The Child Mental Health Specialist: A New Profession" (1974) also advocate the use in residential programs of child mental health professionals trained in child care, education and clinical management. They discuss the development of such a role and the training program for such specialists at the Camarillo Children's Treatment Center in California.

In his paper "An American Application of the European Educateur Concept" (1973), Barnes emphasizes the conceptual clarity, body of knowledge and skills -- i.e., the professional identity -- provided by the educateur model, in contrast to the confusion and ambiguity of the surrogate parent role, as variously labeled cottage parent, house staff, child care worker, etc.

The attempt to synthesize the goals of "raising and treating" children under one aegis is the core of the Educateur model. All residential treatment programs must grapple with the tension between these goals and the working solutions they develop have far reaching implications for the social system of the program -- i.e., its roles, intramural organization, systems maintenance, etc. As a result, the organization of programs provides a basis for program analysis and cross-program comparisons.

PROPOSED MODEL FOR EVALUATING RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR DISTURBED CHILDREN

The problems with outcome studies, including 1) the lack of reliable and valid outcome measures, 2) inadequate control groups, sample size, etc. and 3) their failure to provide relatively immediate and useful information for residential treatment programs, have been discussed above. Given the limitations of the above models of evaluation and the profound difficulties of assessing changes in individuals, perhaps we should attempt to evaluate programs qua organizations instead of trying to assess them in terms of their impact on people.

The model proposed here is intended to provide an appropriate framework for evaluating residential treatment programs for disturbed children in terms of their efficiency as institutions while not necessarily precluding more long-range outcome studies. The model proposes a systems type evaluation of the treatment program qua social system in terms of the way it is organized and allocates its resources to achieve its goals. This type of evaluative research entials two perspectives. It seeks to assess: 1) the extent to which a program achieves its goals and 2) the efficiency of ins intramural functioning vis a vis these goals. Fallding (1962) describes evaluative research as follows:

> We imply objective evaluation of two kinds, in fact, whenever we give a function. Basically, we are making a judgment as to whether the expenditure that goes into the creation and maintenance of the arrangement is worthwhile; but we determined this worthwhileness by both a backward and a forward look, as it were. The backward look tries to sum up the efficiency of the arrangement in producing its effects. To the extent that it is inefficient, wasteful, it is dysfunctional in a way. The forward look examines whether the effects themselves are valuable in terms of some schedule of needs which we postulate for the life of man in society. (p 16 in Polsky, 1970).

It is more the exception than the rule for institutions to take the backward and forward look, to systematically examine their goals and the particularized means for achieving them and to develop a coherent and rational allocation of resources. The experience of many researchers has been that in the process of seeking to formulate appropriate, answerable hypotheses, they assist, or in many cases force, a program to clarify its goals and the means of achieving them.

For example, Rashkis (1960) asks the rhetorical question, "How can a hospital, a ward or an institution or community be best organized so that they will have maximum efficiency?" He answers: "Do research!" He notes the tendency of patients to improve more in settings where research is being conducted and suggests that the activities of research require that the goals and structure of the organization be explicitly defined. Staff consequently have a greater degree of clarity about the structure, roles, allocation of authority, etc. and are more organized and effective. By imposing a degree of organization, research also tends to organize the hospital experiences for the patients.[10] In any case, the process of defining and analyzing the goals of the organization may in and of itself increase the efficiency of the organization.

More typically, this clarification has been downgraded to the status of a by-product or fringe benefit of the evaluative study. This model specifically seeks to promote the clarification of the functioning of the program as a primary goal of research; i.e., to enhance the program's self-awareness so that it can monitor its own functioning. The contribution of evaluative research may de facto be to help a program recognize the relationship between what it wants to do and what it is actually doing. Even more basic, it may help a program decide what it wants to do. Such a delineation is a prerequisite to evaluating a program in terms of the efficiency of its functioning, the feasibility of its goals, structural incompatibilities in the program, wasteful allocation of resources, or dysfunctional relationships of sub-systems. The resulting delineation of the program's intramural functioning may provide the greatest benefit to the program, particularly in comparison to the cost and benefits of a long-range outcome study.[11]

It would be premature to suggest that the analysis proposed in this model can, at this point, develop reliable and valid measures of the "efficiency of the organization". This is made more difficult in that measures of the efficiency of an organization are yet to be developed that are appropriate for cross program comparisons. The measures of efficiency are perhaps at this point as equally crude as outcome measures. The type of evaluation provided by this model is a logical analysis of programs; i.e., programs are analyzed in terms of their logical consistency.[12]

This model will delineate the various components or subsystems of residential treatment programs and the interrelationships of these subsystems. It will address itself to the goals of the system and the means of achieving them. It will examine the roles within the system and other specific prerequisite processes, all vis a vis the functioning of the total system. Some concepts of open system theory, as described by Miller (1971) and Bertalanffy (1968), are employed, as are some of the structural-functional concepts of Parsons (1951) and Merton (1957).[13] One of the advantages of an open systems perspective is that it facilitates generalizations and comparisons to other types of systems, ranging from the biologic cell and personalities to nation states (Ackoff 1960). The advantages of this generalizability and its emphasis on communalities of systems qua systems, however, is accompanied by the limitation of not being tailored to some of the unique characteristics of residential treatment programs for children. Thus, open systems theory terms have been modified and supplemented to take into account the specifics of residential treatment programs and the model could be described as a modified open systems model.

One reasons that an open systems perspective was deemed appropriate is the fact that residential treatment programs are becoming increasingly involved in their communities. Therefore, a conceptual framework is necessary that can deal with the interrelationships or linkages of the program with other institutions, communities and families, etc. Still another reason for choosing this perspective is its emphasis on the individual's interaction with the environment.[14] Probably more is known about changing environments and their behavioral correlates than is known about changing "core personality," which argues for an environmental or milieux approach for therapy programs. An open systems perspective was utilized because of its ability to address itself to this relationship between personality and milieu, which is of obvious importance in milieux therapy residential programs which specifically seek to create and maintain a therapeutic milieu.[15] Finally, this perspective is appropriate for evaluating the treatment of children who are also undergoing a process of enculturation, which is, by definition, internalization and assimilation of roles, values, attitudes, etc.

The following are some of the terms and concepts employed by the open systems model:

1) Inputs are the ideas, beliefs, personalities, material, personnel, moneys, etc. that enter the program. The model propos that a census of the allocation of these resources be made to help delineate the functioning of the system and its priorities.

2) Goals Social systems may be characterized in terms of their formal and informal goals. An evaluation of a program assesses goal achievement and the allocation of resources, pursuant to goal achievement

Etzioni (1960) has commented on the disparity between formally stated goals and what people actually do on a day-to-day basis. Informal and de facto goals, such as maintaining job security, and a variety of systems-maintenance goals, such as maintaining staff morale, need to be considered in program evaluation, particularly as they effect the primary goals. Throughout this model, the achievement of these de facto goals and of the primary goals of rehabilitation, custodial care, and socialization for adulthood will be emphasized, particularly as they relate to other aspects of the model such as roles, social processes or functional prerequisites. It is important that proximal goals be defined. The elusiveness and lack of clarity involved in describing long term or distal goals, such as improved functioning, curing illness, successful treatment and low recidivism, etc., are confounded with the problems of developing operational measures to determine the extent to which these distal or long-term goals are achieved. Each program working within its own rationale can describe a series of proximal goals which are presumably coordinated into a theoretical and practical approach to providing residential treatment. While not addressing the issue of whether a particular model of treatment is effective or not, in terms of whether it achieves long term or distal goals such as rehabilitation, it is possible to determine whether a program is achieving its proximal goals.

For example, proximal goals might include providing comfortable housing with adequate, non-punitive staff. Proximal goals might also include training staff in life space interviewing techniques, holding children to commitments in terms of reality therapy techniques, or conducting behavior modifications. In the case of the latter, in order to conduct behavior modification, individuals presumably need to know baseline data about the patient, the contingencies of the behavior and in what way it is positively or negatively reinforced. In short, proximal goals tend to be specific and concrete and are consequently more accessible to evaluation. The degree to which a program achieves its proximal goals can be assessed through a variety of techniques such as participant observation and interviewing.

Goals to be considered in program evaluation include the following:

a) Treatment. Presumably the primary goal of residential treatment programs for disturbed children is to rehabilitate them psychologically. Outcome studies have tended to emphasize this goal and have sought to assess its achievement with measures of changes in mental health, interpersonal relations, attitudes, or recidivism, etc.

b) Socialization or Enculturation. Residential treatment programs must provide both treatment and socialization experiences necessary to prepare children for adulthood; eg. job and academic skills, interpersonal skills and personality development. An assessment of the adequacy of this socialization, independently and in combination with the extent to which all goals are achieved - i.e., a goal attainment type evaluation - is necessary to assess the net success of a program.

c) Custodial Care of Children. How well children are cared for in terms of their health, food, shelter and living conditions.

d) In-Service Training, developing models for similar programs, conducting research, may also need to be considered as goals in evaluating the net success of a program.

e) Isolating disruptive individuals to protect society until they are ready to return to it.

3) Roles The model suggests that all statuses within the program be specified and that the roles of administrator, teacher, cottage parent, psychotherapist, cook, janitor be delineated

with regard to their behavior proscriptions and prescriptions. These roles should then be related to the primary and secondary goals of the institution. In other words, each set of role-related activites must be related to the specific means of achieving the program's variety of goals.

4) Subsystems or Components of the Program. Subsystems include educational programs, vocational training programs, psychotherapy, residential care, recreation, etc. The model requires that these subsystems or components of the program be analyzed in terms of their relationships and relative contributions to each of the goals of the program. These components and their goal-specific activities must be related to each of the goals.

5) Supra-Systems. The linkages and the nature of the contact between various supra-systems such as the community, family, network of service agencies, etc. and the program should be delineated.

6) Intramural Processes. A list of functional prerequisites for residential treatment is proposed which are similar to the functional prerequisites of society as described by Aberle et al (1950) in their paper, "The Functional Prerequisites of Society." In most instances these prerequisites are readily translatable into systems terms. For the purposes of this model some processes are differentiated in order to focus on and emphasize process-specific behaviors which are important to and common to residential treatment programs.

The following is a list of proposed functional prerequisites, or more simply, processes which occur in the course of residential treatment. The degree to which these processes are positively related to the program's goals is, of course, relevant to the evaluation of residential treatment programs.

a) Communication. All of the participants of the social system must exchange information with one another about areas of the system relevant to them. An analysis of such communication can determine who says what, to whom, and where, relevant to achieving goals, enacting roles, utilizing inputs, etc. For example, where, how and by whom are treatment plans for specific children developed? Are they developed at staff meetings, over coffeepots, etc? With whom does the administrator communicate directly and about what? In short, the researcher should delineate the nature and content of the communication network.

b) Accountability. The ways in which individuals are held accountable for their behavior is part of the larger problem of social control. All roles have prescribed and proscribed behaviors, for the performance of which individuals are held accountable and one can analyze the techniques, rewards and sanctions used to hold people accountable. For example, does voluntary compliance prevail, or are punishment, intimidation and withholding privileges, etc. used? By whom and in regard to what behaviors? An inventory of the techniques of social control could be part of the analysis of the process of accountability.

c) Decision Making. How are decisions made, with regard to what and by whom? What, by whom, and how is relevant information gathered, and what are the priorities in terms of the values that prevail in making decisions? Who makes what types of decisions within the social system, pursuant to what goals and roles, etc. and how is compliance obtained? These questions would be asked in a study of decision making.

d) Monitoring. Who collects information about the on-going functioning of the program and its "efficiency"? How is such information collected, processed and used? The effectiveness of this monitoring of the program is vital for "making mid-course corrections," i.e., for on-going self-evaluations. It is the purpose of this model to sensitize individuals to the on-going functioning of the system and to help them develop the means for monitoring the system objectively and comprehensively. The ability to do this would be most relevant to administrators and could be built into their sphere of activities.

e) Coordination of Activities. Closely related to monitoring is the coordination of the various activities, subsystems and individuals pursuant to the program's various goals. Such things need to be delineated as: who is responsible for the overall coordination of the program, how is it coordinated, and on the basis of what information?

f) Staff Support. The success or failure of "people changing institutions" is most dependent on staff's effectiveness, cooperation and ability. In the pressure cooker of residential treatment programs, their effectiveness is directly related to the support they receive. Exhausted, demoralized and overwhelmed staff preclude the achievement of many goals. The nature and extent of the network of staff support should be delineated by analyzing the ways in which staff are supported financially, emotionally, supervision-wise, etc.

These then are the terms and concepts of the model. A program or system would be delineated with regard to its inputs, roles, goals, and its related supra-systems and subsystems. Finally, the functional prerequisites or processes would be examined vis à vis the other aspects of the model. Any aspect of the system can and should be examined both individually and in relation to the other aspects of the model. For example, a specific role can be analyzed in terms of its goal-oriented behavior, its allocation of inputs, and its participation in a variety of the intramural processes, such as communication, decision making, etc.

This model is intended to delineate both the communalities of residential treatment programs and the unique configurations of specific programs. Hopefully, such a model can clarify what is actually occurring in a program in comparison to what a treatment model, similarly delineated, requires in terms of roles, goals, processes, etc. For example, in a program utilizing behavior modification, one could identify the type of behavior that is meant to be reinforced and compare it with behavior that is in fact being reinforced; how this relates to the goals of the program and such processes as social control would be the next logical questions to ask. Other types of treatment plans could similarly be described in terms of their implications and demands on the entire social system. Once a model has been delineated, a variety of research techniques can be used to determine the degree to which the required model is what people are actually promoting. Research techniques such as self-report questionnaires, random time sample observations, "provoked incidents", and interviews can be used.

One can comment also on the efficiency of the functioning system. Weiss (1972, p. 30) criticizes Schulberg and Baker (1968) when they suggest that the researcher should help an institution determine the optimal allocation of its resources and argues that this would require the researcher to know more than the institution itself knows, a situation which she feels rarely occurs. However, the precision of such an estimate of an optimal allocation does not require the exactitude of a least squares fit but is more on the order of a common-sense, rough estimate of the allocation of resources. For example, if more time is spent in paper work than with patients, then clearly given the primary goal of treatment, it is a poor allocation of time. Once can, in terms of the proposed model, conduct a census of all the resources or inputs of the system and determine how effectively and efficiently time, money, staff, facilities and energies are being invested.

Application of the Model

Given the number of new, small residential programs and the lack of clarity about understanding how milieu therapy works--if it works--it is likely that this very simple conceptualization of programs will require much work before more precise types of evaluation can be conducted. In terms of developing a model for treatment, a census may be taken of its inputs, i.e., time, energy, moneys, personalities, resources, material, etc. vis-a-vis the various components of the program, with attention to which roles, which processes, etc. receive what share of these resources. Conducting such a census would help to delineate a model of programs, therapeutic strategies and tactics.

In tracing inputs and outputs, one can also determine the interrelatedness and nature of the various components of the program. For example, outputs will include discharged patients with possibly improved mental health functioning, changed inter-personal skills, patients participating in the community, reports, etc. Some of these outputs will return to the system as feedback, some of which, e.g., measures of recidivism and rehabilitation, can sometimes be used to ascertain goal attainment, as in an outcome study. In such a study data might be collected on recidivism, improved functioning, changes in personality traits or attitudes, etc. Given the emphasis in the proposed model on the functioning of the system (i.e., the study of the organization qua social system), these outcome variables can be related to process variables, such as degree of selective participation in the program, adjustment within the program, and a variety of variables that both characterize and are salient to the program, including size and ethnic background of staff, size of program, etc. In order to enhance the usefulness of the evaluation, outcome variables can be related to institutional characteristics and processes which are amenable to change, such as size of residential unit, composition of staff, etc., rather than the highly personal and idiosyncratic, such as the nature of the neuroses of one house staff.

To incorporate a systems analysis in an outcome study, hopefully with a randomly assigned control group, would be to follow the four step process of data collection proposed by Nelson, Singer and Johnsen (1973) which was discussed earlier. Such data collection would become part of the ongoing record keeping system of the institution. Irrespective of the program's position on the nature of the therapeutic endeavor, baseline measures of symptomatology could be objectively assessed with behavior ratings, descriptions, case history material, etc. prior to admission to the program; these same measures could be made at discharge from the program and at appropriate periods of follow-up. In this way, in addition to a randomly assigned control group, each person could act as his own control; otherwise, such a control group is confounded by the natural processes of maturation. Such measures, in combination with outcome measures comparing experimental and control groups, would be useful.

While in residence, the daily behavior ratings as described by Gleuck and his associates (1967) would be useful. This would provide a process type evaluation - i.e., are symptoms reduced in the course of treatment? - as well as some measures of the effectiveness of the institution. Recognizing the relative uselessness of standard nursing notes in a psychiatric hospital, Gleuck and his associates sought to make the data collected in nursing notes more accessible and more easily collected. They developed a system of daily behavior ratings to comprise factor analytically derived scales of relevant behavior such as aggression, withdrawal, somatatizing symptoms, etc.

On a daily basis nursing and ward staff fill out optically scanned behavior ratings which can be completed within a few minutes. These ratings are fed into an optical scanner and a computer where they are then available for instant retrival. Staff can go to an online data station and by punching up a patient's number, can get the individual's cumulative 9-day ratings on a variety of scales. These ratings are drawn in comparison to the mean for the group on the respective behavior rating scales. In this way it is possible to "keep one's finger" on the pulse or mood of the group and on individual patients, both individually and in relationship to the group.[16] The monitoring of the group would help make possible the mid course corrections necessary for improving residential care.

In addition, the automated nursing system provides the data base for process evaluations of the individual.[17]

While the use of optical scanners, online computers, etc. may be beyond the means of many small residential treatment and group home programs, the idea of daily behavior ratings holds great promise. A pool of items could be developed for domains of behavior relevant to the residential treatment program. The individual items should be concrete and specific and minimize the need for inferences about behavior. Items such as "hallucinated", "resisted routine", etc. require relatively little inference and may be keys to the current psychological state of the individuals and the group. It is important that such items have a middle range of reliability; in other words, they should measure neither the unchanging and enduring characteristics of the individual nor the characteristics which change in a capricious way. They should instead be objective measures of ongoing behavior which are likely to fluctuate from day to day and yet are indicators of behavior relevant to residential treatment. Such items could be built into behavior rating scales and scale scores kept on a cumulative daily basis. Without the online computer backup, such information could not be used as readily in an ongoing way, but with small patient populations, such records could be kept on a daily basis and, with some clerical help, would provide an ongoing monitoring of the group and patient behavior.

A by-product of such research, which in and of itself might justify the use of such a note system, is that it requires each staff member to have some contact with the patient during the day and to think about the various behavior domains tapped by the items. With some modification this appears to be one of the most useful possibilities for ongoing individual and program evaluation in the small residential treatment programs where other types of research are precluded.

In addition to such process measures and measures prior to admission and at discharge, ratings of behavior - presumably paper and pencil tests of attitudes, personality traits, etc. - might be useful. Here it is important to realize that to some extent one must develop a workable compromise between tests designed to assess specific aspects of unique programs and those that assess overall changes in personality. Wherever possible communality of outcome measures - that is, using the same instruments - would facilitate cross program comparison and evaluation. In any case, measures that are both reliable and valid, to the extent that paper and pencil measures can be, must be utilized and ones that are also appropriate to the specific goals of the program, such as changing impulse - ridden youngsters, alienation, etc.

Given the tendency of paper and pencil measures not to correlate with behavior measures, behavior measures should be recorded. Unobtrusive measures similar to those used by Goldenberg (1971) - work attendance, salaries, number of arrests rehospitalization, etc. - need to be considered. However, it tends to be the case that many behavioral measures, such as recidivism, are not necessarily a reflection of the extent of one's improvement but of other factors such as socioeconomic class.

As discussed on the various papers on the Re-Ed program (Hobbs, 1964, 1966) which view residential treatment as in interlude in the client's life, evaluative research should examine changes in the ecological unit; that is changes in the acceptability of children and in the perceptions of family, teachers, etc. Pre-placement planning and maintaining contact with the family during and after treatment are clearly indicated as essential elements for sustaining gains made in residential treatment.

An evaluation of any treatment center must take into account the relationship of the center and residential treatment to the supra systems. As was indicated in the research of Maluccio (1974), many individuals eventually placed in residential treatment were known to agencies on an average of three years before, at which time a cheaper and more effective alternative to residential treatment would have been preventive programs. The residential treatment program needs to be seen in the larger context of the network of social services available to children. Here the work of Thomas (1972) and his experiments in making residential treatment programs more community-oriented are instructive and suggest that residential treatment be viewed within the larger social context. These, then, are the types of expanded evaluations that might be available.

Where such a social systems analysis is combined with an outcome study, some obvious methodological problems arise. Clearly the further one departs from randomly assigned control groups toward comparison groups or no control groups, or even in the direction of utilizing the quasi-experimental design and comparison groups as suggested by Campbell and Stanley (1966), the less meaningful are the results. Certainly political, practical and ethical considerations may limit the use of such control groups, but until comparisons are made as close to randomly assigned control groups as possible, evaluative research assessing the impact of programs on people will be severely limited. The tighter the experimental design, the use of randomly assigned control groups, etc., the more useful are the results both in terms of evaluating the effectiveness of programs and in terms of developing a theory of residential treatment.

Self Evaluation

Perhaps the quickest and most efficient type of evaluation for small programs lacking adequate sample size, control groups and willingness to wait for results of a long-term outcome study, would be the participant observations of persons familiar with residential treatment; e.g., Bower et al's study (1969) of the Re-Ed program. Larger programs that could afford a permanent participant observer could develop such a role, as described by Caudill in The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Community (1958).

His participant observation study of a psychiatric hospital as a small society is evaluative in the broad sense; i.e., while not an outcome study of "success in treatment", it is a study of the hospital's functioning as a social system and his detection of the collective disturbance has obvious implications for the hospital's effectiveness as a system.[18] In the concluding chapters of his book, he suggests the possibility of developing a clinical anthropology. Discussing the role of a clinical anthropologist, Caudill says:

> Perhaps the most important clinical job that such a person could do, ... would be to keep tract of the entire system of the hospital over time and to communicate his observations and suggestions concerning the state of the system at appropriate regular staff meetings and conferences. In general the term "clinical anthropology" that is introduced here denotes both a practical undertaking of serious responsibilities in the work of the hospital or other medical study and an approach to research through observation and interviewing in which emphasis is on a day-to-day contact with people in meaningful situations. (p. 345).

Given hospitals' need to have relatively immediate feed back about their functioning, which is generally not yielded up in long-term outcome studies of discharged patients, this type of evaluation might prove to be the most practical and useful evaluation a program could undertake.[19]

Monitoring the ongoing functioning of a program is most often included among the responsibilities of administrators, and among administrators there is a folklore and variety of cues used to assess the functioning of the institution. In a large institution it would be feasible for someone to assume the sole responsibility for such monitoring and providing feedback. In a smaller institution, this function might be officially incorporated as one aspect of the administrative role. Following an analysis of the program in terms of some theoretical model, such as the proposed open systems model, the clinical anthropologist could check the program for the degree to which it is accomplishing what it has set as proximal goals. Logically derived suggestions could be made for improving the efficiency of the program on a daily basis.

Organizations tend to have, at least informally, built in mechanisms for self-evaluation and self-correction. Such evaluation occurs regularly in most residential treatment programs; e.g., staff pairing off with fellow staff they prefer to work with; the almost unending staff discussions over coffee or in the neighborhood bar about other staff or administrative and organizational problems; children seeking out children and staff they prefer. Staff frequently make suggestions to one another about how to work with children or other staff. It has been said, too, that children "vote with their feet" -- i.e., make known their preferences and responses to the institution by seeking out particular staff, running away, or avoiding particular aspects of the program.

These informal evaluations such as staffs' criticisms of one another, staff and children's sociometric choices, etc. could be formalized, as were the staff T groups, described previously in Goldenberg's study (1971) which served to provide feedback for ongoing evaluations of one another and the institution's functioning. In addition, sociometric choices could be solicited from staff and children by either a relatively neutral member of the staff or by an outsider whose role it is to monitor the program. The sociometric data would provide an evaluation of which people work together and their different styles of relating. Where such data is employed to allow staff and the children some freedom of choice in terms of friendships, roommates, work hours, etc. (within the constraints imposed by the therapeutic considerations), the soliciting of sociometric choices would be useful in at least three ways. It would serve, first of all, to provide systematic information for evaluating the program and secondly, would allow the recipients of treatment a more active role in the governing of their own affairs. Thirdly, if such data were incorporated into the collection of on-going records, it would have a great deal of relevance for the assessment of the progress of individual patients.

For the purposes of an ongoing evaluation, it would be important to collect such data so as to represent all members of the institution. As in the kula ring study of Malinowski (1922) which traced the ritual exchange of braclets and necklaces over hundreds of miles of open water, the individual participant had little understanding of the workings and significance of the overall kula ring. It was Malinowski, with an outside and holistic perception of the kula ring, who was able to understand its functioning. Of the individual participants he said they:

> . . .have no knowledge of the total outline of any of their social structure. They know their own motives, know the purpose of individual actions and rules which apply to them; but how, out of these the whole collective institution shapes, this is beyond their mental range. Not even the most intelligent native has any clear idea of the Kula as a big, organized social construction, still less of its sociological functions and implications. If you were to ask him what the Kula is, he would answer by giving a few details, most likely by giving his personal experiences and subjective views on the Kula, but nothing approaching the definition just given here. Not even a partial coherent account could be obtained. For the integral picture does not exist in his mind; he is in it, and cannot see the whole from the outside. P. 23.

A comprehensive overview of the system is what is required and in fact is most useful in program evaluation.

SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed some of the evaluative literature on residential treatment programs for disturbed children. Evaluative studies were categorized according to whether their approach was predominantly goal attainment or process; studies which examined programs as social systems or within the context of larger systems were categorized as systems type evaluations. Selected studies were discussed in terms of their relative merits and limitations, many of which were characteristic of and inherent to the type of evaluation, e.g., follow-up studies, in which the study was categorized.

Studies which attempted to evaluate programs by assessing their impact on people were found, in the course of the review, to be beset with a variety of methodological problems. A different, hopefully more fruitful strategy was proposed; namely to describe and analyze, i.e., evaluate, programs qua social systems in terms of the "efficiency" of their organization in relation to their various goals. A generalizable model using an open systems perspective was proposed to describe and analyze residential treatment programs for children. While not purporting to be a panacea to the problems of program evaluation, the model seeks to provide a more immediate and useful type of feedback. This model does not preclude a goal attainment type of evaluation, given the necessary experimental and control groups, reliable and valid outcome measures, etc. Finally, some specific recommendations for program evaluation were made, such as incorporating data relevant to evaluation into case records and formalizing and improving the existing mechanisms for monitoring the ongoing functioning or programs.

No matter what evaluative strategy one employs, there is not at this time a litmus paper for testing how good or how inadequate programs are. The old proverb, "When you see a bear dance, you don't ask how well", might summarize the current state of evaluative research in this area. Perhaps more modest expectations of evaluative research are in order. For example, just as the Re-Ed program has given up the goal of effecting "cures" in favor of the more modest one of helping children to become more acceptable and their families, teachers and communities more accepting, so might evaluative research adjust

> to the results seen in the most successful group care settings. Adherence to traditional interpretations of Freudian theory predisposes him toward familial rather than group substitutes. This also precludes clear separation and social integration of institutional children. He is cautious about peer influences, believing that in adolescence they are directed away from or against adult values. Historically he has had an abhorrence of child labor, since it evokes in him images of English spinning mills and American sweatshops. He fears strong ideology because in a pluralistic environment it leads to disagreement, which our society, operating under the "unity-in-diversity" motto, has yet to harness successfully to productive purposes. Yet these seem to be the ingredients of good group care for some children. (289)

Residential institutions are clearly highly influential and even with the move toward a greater community orientation, there will continue to be a need for programs which both raise and treat children. Given this, it will be a responsibility of the evaluative researcher, working within severe methodological constraints, to help improve the quality of such programs by assessing their impact and/or by providing them with useful feedback about their efficiency in marshalling of powerful social forces for raising and treating children.

its sights toward providing useful feedback to programs to help improve their functioning.

In an important book, Successful Group Care: Explorations in the Powerful Environment, Wolins (1974) and others examine the group care provided by such programs as the Austrian Kinderdorf, the Soviet boarding schools and the Israeli Kibbutz, etc., with respect to their potential usefulness. In his preface, Wolins asks the rhetorical question, "Can group care be constructive?" and replies:

> Mention an institution, a group care program, and the image evoked is negative. Erving Goffman's Asylum, the horror stories of Snake Pit, the pitiful behavior of normal human beings under the stress of prison life - all these and many other carefully documented, regrettable consequences of group life always stand before us. This kind of human community has great power, and it is seen generally as the power to coerce, to deprive the individual of initiative and direction, to install in him a sense of slavery and mechanical obedience.
>
> Are there no successful socializing experience -- the positive outcomes of such group environments where the power of a small community is turned to the promotion of a capacity to "love and work"? The present volume attempts to assemble descriptions of such settings, to provide a positive answer to the very crucial question: Can group care be constructive? Obviously it can -- sometimes beyond expectations. Some of the conceptions, practices, evidence and conclusions are here. Hopefully they will provide some balance to what has been such a one-sided view. (p ix).

In "Group Care: Friend or Foe", Wolins discusses six conditions that seem to lead to positive group care and he explores reasons why these conditions are difficult for Americans to accept:

> If these are the requirements of a powerful environment conducive to change, where does the American child-care practitioner stand on them? It seems that for reasons of faith, history, and political propriety he may have difficulty with every one of the six conditions that seem to lead

[1] Evaluative research on residential programs for juvenile delinquents has not been included in this review, except for Street et al. (1956), which is discussed as an example of a comparative evaluation, and Lerman's (1968) discussion of the California Community Treatment Project Study (Warren et al., 1966) and his evaluation of the Highfields Experiment (Weeks, 1968). For research in this area, the reader is referred to Beker and Herman's (1973) detailed appraisal of the California Differential Treatment Typology and to Ohlin et al.'s (1974) thoughtful case study of the Massachusetts reform of its juvenile correctional system. More general reviews of delinquency research are provided by Hirschi and Hanon (1967) and Shyne (1973).

[2] For the purposes of this chapter the practical and methodological problems of evaluative research are not examined. Other chapters in this volume deal with these problems, as do Schulberg and Baker (1968), Schulberg et al. (1969), Suchman (1968), Tripodi et al. (1969) and Weiss (1972).

With regard to some of the methodological issues, such as participant observation, see Baker (1951), Beller (1959), Weick (1968) and Wright (1960). Interviewing is discussed by Cannell and Kahn (1968). Cohen discusses statistical power, experimental design and sample size (1969) and the use of multiple regression (1968). Cronebach and Meehl (1955) discuss reliability and validity of measures. Campbell and Stanley (1966) present a variety of experimental and quasi-experimental designs particularly relevant to evaluative research. McGuire (1968) has written extensively on attitudes and attitude change which is relevant for program evaluation. Finally, Webb et al. (1966) discuss the use of unobtrusive measures which may prove helpful for field and evaluative research. Beyond these selected references, the reader is referred to other chapters in these volumes and to the relevant literature.

[3] For an excellent case study of an evaluation of a residential program, see Hyman et al. (1962) and Riecken (1952).

[4] Alt (1964) discusses the concept of success and the various definitions relevant to residential treatment of children. For a discussion of some of the outcome criteria problems in follow-up evaluations, see Pollack et al. (1968).

[5] Instruments used in this study were included in appendices and may be found there.

[6] For details of this study, see Astor Home for Children (1963) and Mora et al. (1969).

[7] Durkin (1967) analyzes some of the social functions of psychological interpretations in a residential treatment program for children.

[8] Loughmiller (1965) briefly cites a follow-up study of boys who participated in the program over a 12 year period and reports that 70.8% were in the upper two categories of adjustment; i.e., "fairly good" and "excellent". He comments "We have good reason to believe that the present results are as good as or better than the former as we are not better staffed and have had more experience". (p.31). No details of the study were provided in this book.

[9] For a thorough and practical discussion of the therapeutic potential of "nontherapy" time, see Trieschman et al.'s The Other 23 Hours (1969).

[10] An alternative explanation is that the more organized hospitals are more likely to undertake research.

[11] For a discussion of some of the limitations of outcome studies, see Ellsworth et al. (1968) and Schulberg and Baker (1968). Levine (1968) has discussed the relevance of cost benefit analysis as an approach to program evaluation.

[12] Durkin (1974) has utilized the model to describe and analyze a summer camp and follow-up program for poverty and/or disturbed adolescents. The program is analyzed in terms of its logical consistency with theories of social influence and group dynamics.

[13] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss in detail the reationale for an open systems perspective or to review relevant literature on organizational theory. The reader is referred to Silverman (1971), Rice (1963) and Katz and Kahn (1966).

[14] For an analysis of personality as an open system, see Allport (1960). Durkin (1972), using a theory of social influence, discusses the relationship of personality and milieu.

[15] Essential to an understanding of milieu therapy is an understanding of the process of internalization vis a vis the "raising", i.e., enculturation, and treating of children. Internalization may occur through identification, developing a reinforcement history, gaining insight, learning roles, etc. The means by which attitudes, values, motivation and behavior become internalized is central to any theory of milieu therapy.

[16] Caudill (1958) and Stanton and Schwartz (1954) have pointed out the relationship of group mood and symptomatology.

[17] Rosenberg et al. (1967) disucss the monitoring of individual behavior with on line computers in terms of its relevance in making clinical decisions.

[18] Kobler and Stotland's (1964) autopsy of a hospital that was closed as a result of a loss of hope and consequent wave of suicides among staff and patients is a dramatic example of the system-wide effect of hospital mood.

[19] Caudill (1958) and Stanton and Schwartz (1954) have discussed the importance of monitoring the ongoing functioning of hospitals. Feeney (1973), in discussing the limitations of outcome type evaluations, proposes ways of providing ongoing feedback to improve the operation of residential treatment settings. While he does not regard this as evaluative per se, it is evaluation as the term is defined in this chapter.

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APPENDIX C

Tables presenting Raw Teenager's Opinion Survey Scales with the scales' name, number and alpha. The items defining the scale, and the item to scale correlation with the item included (uncorrected) and deleted (corrected).

Scale R - 1 - A Adults View
Alpha = .923

Var.	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
89	Adults thinks I am (stupid) (smart)	77	81
91	Adults think I am (unfriendly) (friendly)	72	77
92	Adults think I am (selfish) (unselfish)	59	67
94	Adults think I am (weak) (strong)	71	76
95	Adults think I am (slow) (fast)	68	74
97	Adults think I am (inferior) (superior)	61	68
98	Adults think I am (square) (cool)	64	70
99	Adults think I am (mean) (kind)	68	74
-88*	Adults think I am (good) (bad)	70	76
-90	Adults think I am (useful) (useless)	69	75
-93	Adults think I am (important) (unimportant)	69	75
-96	Adults think I am (hard working) (lazy)	65	71

* - indicates the item is reversed

Scale R-1-B I Am

Alpha = .906

Var.	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
77	I am (stupid) (smart)	.72	.77
79	I am (friendly) (unfriendly)	.67	.73
80	I am (selfish) (Unselfish)	.58	.66
82	I am (weak) (strong)	.69	.79
83	I am (slow) (fast)	.66	.73
85	I am (inferior) (superior)	.59	.66
86	I am (square) (cool)	.66	.72
87	I am (mean) (kind)	.61	.69
-76*	I am (good) (bad)	.65	.71
-78	I am (useful) (useless)	.69	.74
-81	I am (important) (unimportant)	.58	.66
-84	I am (hard working) (lazy)	.56	.64

* - indicates the item is reversed

Scale R 2 Work

Alpha = .771

Var.	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
-11*	People are just naturally friendly and helpful	37	48
-18	Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect	30	43
-23	The future looks bright for today's teenagers	31	43
-28	I always do my fair share of the work	34	43
-30	I enjoy work as much as play	47	57
-31	Even if you can't stand someone you should still be nice to them.	42	51
-33	I enjoy doing hard jobs	50	59
-34	The government will see to it that the people of this country will have a better life	39	50
-36	I have given careful thought to my future	27	38
-41	Successful people are mostly honestly and good	37	48
-43	You should always be honest, no matter what	38	49
-49	Negroes, Spanish-Americans and whites are usually treated the same in this country	31	45
-84	I am hard-working	35	45
-90	Adults think I am useful	30	42
-96	Adults think I am hard-working	37	49
-102	Most work is fun	42	53

* - indicates the item is reversed

Scale R 3 Personal Responsibility

Alpha = .875

Var.	Item	Correct R	Uncorrected R
-62 *	How responsible do you think a person usually is if he gets a ticket for speeding.	.75	.84
-63	How responsible do you think a person usually is for going with a crowd that is always getting him in trouble?	.76	.86
-65	How responsible do you think a person usually is for getting in trouble with the Law?	.76	.86
-66	How responsible do you think a person usually is for not being able to find a job?	.53	.69
-67	How responsible do you think a person is for not doing his job well?	.72	.82

* - indicates the item is reversed

Scale R 4 Group Differences

Alpha = .812

Var.	Item	Corrected R	Uncorrected R
-68*	Putting an end to wars	.52	.66
-69	Stopping police brutality	.54	.68
-70	Getting a large project done or built	.50	.62
-71	Having a good time together	.36	.50
-72	Ending racial prejudice	.60	.73
-73	Changing the laws so they are fair to all people	.58	.71
-74	Helping each other when a person needs some help.	.55	.66
-75	Improving their living conditions	.57	.68

* - indicates the item is reversed

Scale R 5 Alienation

Alpha = .790

Var.	Item	Corrected R	Uncorrected R
-4*	When a person has a problem or a worry it is best to try to forget about it.	.36	.48
-13	Having "pull" is more important than ability in getting ahead.	.37	.47
-15	Adults are always looking for things to nag teenagers about	.34	.46
-16	It's useless to write to public officials because your problems don't interest them.	.37	.47
-17	It's useless to plan for tomorrow; all we can do is live for the present.	.41	.53
-19	A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for him.	.45	.54
-25	Success is more dependent upon luck than on real ability.	.48 .48	.58 .58
-32	There are two kinds of people in the world: The weak and the strong.	.38	.49
-37	Never tell anyone why you did something unless it will help you.	.48	.57
-38	In getting a job done, a strict leader is more important than the portant than the people liking one another.	.40	.51
-42	A criminal is just like other people except that he is stupid enough to get caught.	.45	.56
-45	I really don't care what kind of work I do so long as it pays well.	.42	.53
-46	It is usually best to tell people only what they really want to hear.	.44	.54
-57	It is smart to be nice to important people even if you really don't like them.	.30	.40
-58	Most people won't work unless you make them do it.	.30	.41

* - indicates the item is reversed

APPENDIX D

Tables presenting analysis of varience data for Alienation Scales for first and second time campers. Tables include Colorado 1967 and Vermont 1968 experimental design (Table 1); Colorado first time campers (Table 2); Vermont first time campers (Table 3); Vermont and Colorado first time campers combined (Table 4); and Vermont and Colorado separately and combined for second time campers (Table 5).

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

SCALE R 5	N	Pre $\bar{x}$	Post $\bar{x}$	$\bar{x}$ Diff	Diff	T	P
Col. 67							
Camp	13	53.5	49.3	5.5	9.7	2.78	.01
Control	12	52.8	58.3	-4.2			
Vt. 68							
Camp	12	62.5	60.6	-1.9	5.4	1.95	.066
Control	11	57.2	60.6	3.4			
Vt. & Col. Comb.							
Camp	25	57.8	54.7	-3.1	7.6	3.43	.002
Control	23	54.9	59.4	4.5			
SCALE C 5 A							
Col. 67							
Camp	12	42.1	43.9	1.9	-6.5	2.6	.02
Control	12	40.5	49	8.5			
Vt. 68							
Camp	12	56.2	52.7	-3.5	6.7	2.73	.013
Control	11	48.6	51.8	-3.2			
Vt. & Col. Comb.							
Camp	24	49.2	48.2	-1	6.9	2.18	.035
Control	23	44.4	50.3	5.9			
SCALE C-5-B							
Col. 67							
Camp	13	26	27.5	1.5	- .9	.48	.2
Control	12	27.9	30.3	2.4			
Vt. 69							
Camp	12	32.3	33.9	1.6		.52	.2
Control	11	27.7	30.5	2.8			
Vt. & Col. Comb.							
Camp	24	29	30.6	1.5	-1.1	.72	.2
Control	23	28	30.4	2.6			
SCALE C-5-C							
Col. 67							
Camp	13	52.4	53.7	1.3	-9.2	2.13	.04
Control	12	48.5	59	10.5			
Vt. 67							
Camp	12	60.7	57.2	-3.5	-5.9	2.00	.06
Control	11	53.3	55.7	2.4			

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN
(continued)

SCALE C-5-C	N	Pre $\bar{x}$	Post $\bar{x}$	$\bar{x}$ Diff	Diff	T	P
Vt. & Col. Comb.							
Camp	25	56.4	55.4	-1.0	-7.7	2.76	.009
Control	23	50.8	57.5	6.7			

Table #1 presenting the analysis of variance data for the experimental design in Colorado, 1967 and Vermont, 1968 and the groups combined for the Alienation Scales R-5, C-5-A, C-5-B and C-5-C. For both the experimental (camp) and control groups separately their sample size, (N); pre-test mean, (pre $\bar{x}$); post-test mean, (post $\bar{x}$); and the difference between their pre and post means, ($\bar{x}$ diff) are presented. In order to compare the two groups the differences (diff) between the $\bar{x}$ diff's are presented with its corresponding T value (T) and the probability of that value (P).

COLORADO CAMPS

First Time Campers

Scale & Session	N	Pre Cont	Post Cont	Post Camp	Change Scores Cont	Change Scores Camp	Change Scores Mean Diff	T
ALIENATION R5		$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	
Col. 67	7	53.9	58.1	59.0	4.3	.9	-3.4	<1
Col. 68	5	50.0	63.6	56.8	13.6**	-6.8	-20.4	2.37+
All Col.	12	52.2	60.4	58.1	8.2*	-2.4	-10.5	2.07+
ALIENATION C5A								
Col. 67	7	39.6	47.3	42.7	7.6	-4.6	12.2	2.04+
Col. 68	5	40.2	56.8	48.7	16.6*	-8.1	24.7	3.45*
All Col.	12	39.9	51.2	45.2	11.4**	-6.0+	17.4	3.66**
ALIENATION C5B								
Col. 67	7	27.9	30.1	31.0	2.3	.9	-1.4	<1
Col. 68	5	21.8	32.6	26.9	10.8**	-5.7	-16.5	5.15**
All Col.	12	25.3	31.2	29.3	5.8*	-1.7	-7.5	2.37*
ALIENATION C5C								
Col. 67	7	48.1	55.4	47.6	7.4	-7.9*	-15.3	2.22+
Col. 68	5	47.2	68.4	57.9	21.2***	-10.5*	-31.7	6.56**
All Col.	12	47.7	60.8	51.9	13.1**	-9.0***	-22.1	4.47**

Probabilities + < 10; * <.05; ** <.01; *** <.001

Table # 2 presenting analysis of varience data for trend analysis for Colorado camps for first time campers. The means for the Alienation Scales R-5, C-5-A, C-5-B and C-5-C are presented for the pre control group (pre cont $\bar{x}$); the post control - pre camp (post cont $\bar{x}$); and the post camp (post camp $\bar{x}$). The differences between control group means (cont $\bar{x}$) and the camp group means (camp $\bar{x}$) are given with their probabilities. The differences between the cont $\bar{x}$ and the camp $\bar{x}$ (mean diff) is given with its T value and probability. The probabilities of cont. $\bar{X}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ are computed as significantly different from 0.

VERMONT CAMPS

First Time Campers

					Change Scores			
Scale & Session	N	Pre Cont	Post Cont	Post Camp	Cont	Camp	Mean Diff	T
ALIENATION R5		$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	
Vt. 68	9	54.0	58.4	57.0	4.4	-1.4	5.8	1.91+
Vt. 69	8	57.5	58.4	58.8	.9	.4	-.5	<1
All Vt.	17	55.6	58.4	57.8	2.8	-.6	-3.3	1.10
ALIENATION C5A								
Vt. 68	8	46.4	51.2	51.9	4.8+	.6	-4.2	1.10
Vt. 69	8	48.6	49.9	51.5	1.3	1.6	.3	< 1
All Vt.	16	47.5	50.6	51.7	3.1	1.1	-2.0	< 1
ALIENATION C5B								
Vt. 68	8	25.7	29.1	29.6	3.5	.5	-3.0	< 1
Vt. 69	9	25.3	30.9	27.7	5.6	-3.2	-8.8	1.91+
All Vt.	17	25.5	30.1	28.6	4.6*	-1.5	-6.1	1.77+
ALIENATION C5C								
Vt. 68	8	52.3	54.8	56.7	2.5	1.9	-6	< 1
Vt. 69	9	57.0	52.8	58.2	-4.1	5.4	9.5	1.73
All Vt.	17	54.7	53.7	57.5	-1.0	3.8+	4.9	1.31

Probabilities + < .10; * < .05; ** < 01; and *** < .001

Table #3 presenting analysis of varience data for trend analysis for Vermont camps for first time campers. The means for the alienation scales R-5, C-5-A, C-5-B, and C-5-C are presented for the pre control group (pre cont. $\bar{x}$); the post control-pre camp (post cont. $\bar{x}$); and the post camp (post camp $\bar{x}$). The differences between the control group means (post cont. $\bar{x}$); and the post camp group means (camp $\bar{x}$) are given with their probabilities. The differences between cont. $\bar{x}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ (mean diff) is given with its T value and probability. The probabilities of cont. $\bar{x}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ are computed as significantly different from 0.

VERMONT AND COLORADO COMBINED

First Time Campers

Scale	N	Pre Cont	Post Cont	Post Camp	Change Scores Cont	Change Scores Camp	Mean Diff	T
ALIENATION		$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$		
R-5	29	54.2	59.2	57.9	5.0*	-1.3	-6.3	2.23*
ALIENATION C-5-A	28	44.3	50.9	48.9	6.6**	-2.0	-8.6	2.78**
ALIENATION C-5-B	29	25.4	30.5	28.9	5.1**	1.6	-6.7	2.94**
ALIENATION C-5-C	29	51.8	56.7	55.2	4.8*	-1.5	-6.3	1.6

Probabilities + $<$.10; * $<$.05; ** $<$.01; and *** $<$.001

Table #4 presenting analysis of varience data for trend analysis of Vermont and Colorado camps combined for first time campers. The means for the alienation scales R-5; C-5-A; C-5-B; and C-5-C are presented for the pre control group (pre cont. $\bar{x}$); the post control-pre camp (post cont $\bar{x}$); and the post camp (post camp $\bar{x}$). The differences the control group means (cont. $\bar{x}$) and the camp group means (camp $\bar{x}$) are given with their probabilities. The differences between cont. $\bar{x}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ (Mean diff) is given with its T value and probability. The probabilities of cont. $\bar{x}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ are computed as significantly different from 0.

VERMONT AND COLORADO SEPARATELY AND COMBINED

Second Time Campers

Scale & Camp	N	Pre Cont	Post Cont	Post Camp	Change Scores Cont	Change Scores Camp	Mean Diff	T
		$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$		
ALIENATION R 5								
Col	7	46.9	52.9	53.4	6.1*	.5	-5.6	1.02
Vt	15	52.5	54.1	54.1	1.6	0	-1.6	<1
Col & Vt	22	50.7	53.8	53.9	3.0*	0.2	-2.8	1.26
ALIENATION C5A								
Col	7	42.9	44.1	44.9	1.2	0.7	-0.5	<1
Vt	15	49.3	49.1	50.3	-0.2	1.3	1.5	<1
Col & Vt	22							
ALIENATION C5B								
Col	7	25.1	28.6	28.4	3.4+	-0.1	-3.5	1.73
Vt	15	29.4	30.0	29.1	0.6	-0.9	-1.5	1.36
Col & Vt	22	28.0	29.5	28.9	1.5+	-0.7	-2.2	2.17*
ALIENATION C5C								
Col	7	52.8	54.2	53.4	1.4	-0.7	-2.1	<1
Vt	15	56.3	55.9	56.2	-0.4	0.2	0.6	<1
Col & Vt	22	55.2	55.4	55.2	0.2	-0.1	-0.3	<1

Probabilities + <.10, * <.05; ** <.01; and *** <.001

Table # 5 presenting the analysis of variences data for trend analyses of Vermont and Colorado camp separately and combined for second time campers. The means for the Alienation Scales R-5; C-5-A; C-5-B, and C-5-C are presented for the pre control group (pre cont. $\bar{x}$; the post control - pre camp (post cont $\bar{x}$); and the post camp (post camp $\bar{x}$). The differences between the control group means (cont. $\bar{x}$) and the camp means (camp $\bar{x}$) are given with their probabilities. The differences between cont. $\bar{x}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ (mean diff) is given with its T value and probability. The probabilities of cont. $\bar{x}$ and camp $\bar{x}$ are computed as significantly different from 0.

APPENDIX E

Matrix showing correlation coefficients for combined Vermont 1968 and Colorado 1967 samples between subjects score and 6 raw Teenagers' Opinion Scales and 14 High School Personality Questionnaire Factors with (1) returning to camp (N = 69); (2) Psychiatric Impairment (N=64); (3) Rating of having benefited from camp (N=64); and (4) a dichotomization of those who benefited most and those who benefited least from camp (N=26). Variables are presented as either pre camp (to predict) or post camp (to postdict) variables.

	RETURN	IMPAIRMENT	BENEFITED	BENEFIT D	RETURN	IMPAIRMENT	BENEFITED	BENEFIT D
	PRE CAMP				POST CAMP			
WORK	.11V*	-.03	.18	.17	-.00	C.23	.02	-.06
P. RESP.	C.10	.18	.12	.11	.07	C.31	-.05	-.06
ADULT'S	.12	-.06	.15	.25	-.05	.20	.04	.09
GROUP E	C.45	-.05	C.25	.35V	.10	-.00	-.07	-.03
ALIENATION	C.30V	-.03	-.12	-.13	.14V	-.12	.20V	.47
I AM	C.47	-.09	C.14	.32	-.08V	C.28	-.23V	-.20V
A	.07	-.04	.07	.05	.01	-.04	-.01	.03
B	-.05	-.12	.13	.26	.17V	-.03	.25V	.45V
C	.16	-.13	.16	.17	.05	-.20	-.07	.11V
D	.19	.01	C.26	.28	-.05	-.07	.06	.17
E	-.01	.03	-.02	-.04	-.16	-.04	-.10	.11
F	.20	-.04	C.19	.20	-.03	-.17	-.18	-.06
G	-.12	-.25	C.22	-.20	.00	-.23	-.10	.04V
H	.07	-.22	.18	.36	.04	-.21	.02	.17
I	C-.09	-.26V	-.01	.02V	.270	.32	.12	.21
J	.00	.15	.00	-.03	.23V	.13	.09	.07
O	-.17V	-.10	-.14V	-.17V	.01	.05	.04	-.18
Q_2	-.08	-.26	-.13	-.10	.05V	.07	-.01V	.07V
Q_3	-.13	-.28V	.06	.16V	.31V	-.02	.28V	.45V
Q_4	.06	-.27	.02	.07V	-.11	.19	-.04	-.07

* A "V" Following the correlation coefficient indicates a significant at the $<.05$ level two tailed test from the Vermont sample and a "C" preceeding the correlation coefficient indicates significance for the Colorado sample.

1,2 day __ __ 3,3 camper __ __

APPENDIX F

STAFF REACTION TO CAMPER

5.	reprimanded	1	2	3
6.	pushed to work	1	2	3
7.	got mad at	1	2	3
8.	reaffirmed commitment	1	2	3
9.	went unnoticed	1	2	3
10.	argued with	1	2	3
11.	ingratiated to you	1	2	3
12.	set limits for	1	2	3
13.	talked to camper	1	2	3
14.	camper sought help	1	2	3
15.	gave help to camper	1	2	3
16.	praiseworthiness	1	2	3
17.	talked of personal problem	1	2	3
18.	protected camper	1	2	3
19.	complained of staff	1	2	3
20.	complained of campers	1	2	3
21.	did obey	1	2	3
22.	friendly	1	2	3

AT WORK WAS THE CAMPER

23.	show initiative	1	2	3
24.	talkative	1	2	3
25.	easily distracted	1	2	3
26.	complain	1	2	3
27.	work alone	1	2	3
28.	require supervision	1	2	3
29.	take care of tools	1	2	3

RATE AT WORK ONLY

30.	cooperative	1	2	3	4	5	uncooperative
31.	hard-working	1	2	3	4	5	lazy
32.	leader	1	2	3	4	5	follower
33.	serious	1	2	3	4	5	fooled around
34.	productive	1	2	3	4	5	unproductive
35.	competent	1	2	3	4	5	incompetent
36.	enjoys work	1	2	3	4	5	dislikes work

WITH PEERS

37.	ranks others	1	2	3
38.	bullies	1	2	3
39.	protective	1	2	3
40.	isolated	1	2	3
41.	gregarious	1	2	3
42.	teases	1	2	3
43.	boasts (talks)	1	2	3
44.	shows off (acts)	1	2	3
45.	stays with few friends	1	2	3
46.	aggressive, pushy, abrasive	1	2	3
47.	hostile to one person	1	2	3

IN GENERAL HOW WAS THE CAMPER

48.	flaunts masculinity	1	2	3
49.	does odd things	1	2	3
50.	swears	1	2	3
51.	childish	1	2	3
52.	moody, changeable	1	2	3
53.	apprehensive, phobic	1	2	3
54.	grandiose about self	1	2	3
55.	manipulative	1	2	3
56.	makes excuses for failures	1	2	3
57.	daydreams	1	2	3
58.	inappropriate affect	1	2	3
59.	distrusts others	1	2	3
60.	sarcastic, cutting	1	2	3
61.	uncompromising	1	2	3
62.	looks tired, worn out	1	2	3
63.	dramatic, theatrical	1	2	3
64.	talks of city	1	2	3
65.	talks of girls	1	2	3
66.	talks of family	1	2	3

Overall ratings

67.	had good day	1	2	3	4	5	had bad day
68.	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	unfriendly
69.	good example	1	2	3	4	5	bad example
70.	active	1	2	3	4	5	passive
71.	cheerful	1	2	3	4	5	complaining
72.	resists routine	1	2	3	4	5	accepts routine
73.	involved	1	2	3	4	5	uninvolved
74.	likes camp	1	2	3	4	5	dislikes camp
75.	gets along well	1	2	3	4	5	doesn't get along well

At noon

76.	working	0	1
77.	sleeping	0	1
78.	recreation	0	1

79. how many people with 1 2 3 4 5 6 (more)

who were they (list)

COMMENTS (use back)

APPENDIX G

Personality and Milieu: a Theory of Social Influence

Roderick Durkin

There is a curious and revealing inconsistency in the "folk psychology" of social influence held by many middle and upper class Americans. Despite the exposure to Freudian (1927) and other ontogenetic theories of personality, many regard the individual in general and their children in particular as being continually and importantly influenced by their environment. With regard to deleterious influences, individuals at all ages are considered vulnerable and great effort is expended to provide a positive social milieu and to avoid, or at least mitigate, harmful social influences. Some even believe that a second-grade teacher, inappropriately embroiled in an ego battle with a child, can affect his educational career and possibly lessen his chances for acceptance at a good college. A child's friends are similarly regarded as potent forces for good or evil, and are thus an object of great parental concern and manipulation. Similaly, fashionable clothes, straight teeth, and training in the social graces, etc. are considered prerequisites for gaining the social acceptance necessary for the development of a healthy personality, adequate self-esteem, etc. In the case of one's daughter, no amount of happy family life, including a relativley smooth transition through the stages of psychosexual development, are sufficient to inoculate the girl who comes home from an evening, on the back of a Hell's Angel motorcycle. Such pied pipers of Hamlin as the East Village, drinking, drugs, promiscuity, hippydom, etc. are regarded as overwhelming influences from which children must be protected.

Adults are also considered vulnerable to such deleterious influences as work pressures which can lead to alcoholism and the sterility of suburban life which can lead good people into a "La dolce vita" existence. In short, the individual is seen as continually adapting to his social milieu, and as highly responsive to its variety of social influences, particularly the pernicious ones.

The inconsistencies in such folk psychology become apparent in the etiological explanations of poverty. If one has a scientific theory of social influence, it should be applicable to all, including the poor. While this theory of social influence may be valid, its selective application to the non-poor suggests that it is a folk-psychology which fundtions to make the world more comprehensible and intelligible, and to provide a "scientific" raison d'etre for many of the endeavors of the non-poor. The contradiction in this folk psychology is its relative disregard of the potency of social influence in the creation and perpetuation of poverty. The poverty milieu with its woefully inadequate educational facilities, lack of medical care, prevalence of drugs, high crime rates, and the economic assault on family life, is relatively disregarded as a primary etiological factor. Instead, more individual explanations of the poor are offered, such as laziness, immorality, irresponsibility, lack of initiative, etc. The failure of the individual is explained in moral and individualistic terms, rather than being understood as an expected and quite predictable response to what is one of the harshes environments psychiatrically, the poverty milieu. The contradiction is that the vulnerability and continual adapting of the individual to social influence is accepted by the middle class, for the middle class- but is rejected in explaining the creation and the perpetuation of poverty and its related problems.

As a theory of social influence it deserves investigation because if such a theory of an on-going adaptation of personality to social milieru can be developed, tested, and utilized, it is of vast significance for social planning and community psychiatry. A more depth and individualistic psychology may be more appropriate and valuable to individual patients, but it is less relevant and useful in social planning to eliminate poverty and similar social problems. Less is known about changing personality structures and characteristics such as oral optimism, compulsion, and psychoses, etc. than is known about changing environments in a public-health type approach. A theory of social influence is both applicable and relevant for the changing of social environments, an endeavor for which the technology and resources are available. When specific aspects of the poverty milieu can be identified as causal to the creation and perpetuation of poverty, with its correlatives of mental illness, crime, etc., then these aspects can be changed, technologically at least.

The state of our understanding of the etiology of delinquency, mental illness, and the poverty cycle, etc., is comparable to that of the understanding of the etiology of physical disease in the 18th Century.

Without a knowledge of viruses, bacteria, antigens, etc., it was recognized that cities were less healthy places than rural areas. Assuming a cause-and-effect relation, the urban environments were sanitized with regard to food handling, sewage, water, etc. and in this way, the prevalence and incidence of physical diseases were reduced. Social psychiatry, with its similar state of incomplete knowledge, recognizes that the poverty environment is causal in a broad range of psychiatric disorders and social problems (Langner, 1971). Without a knowledge of the specific etiolcgical factors, it is feasible to sanitize these environments with regard to stress (Selye, 1956), and to thus reduce prevalence and incidence of anti-social behavior, psychiatic disorder, and poverty, etc. Such an environmental approach entails reordering priorities and changing environments, which is within our grasp technologically. Given this feasibility, relevant theories of social influence need to be explored, developed and evaluated.

Evidence relevant to and supporting such a theory of on-going adaptation of personality to the environment can be found in such behavioral sciences as

(1) social psychology; (2) studies of stimulus deprivation; (3) social psychiatry studies of psychopathology; and (4) studies of total institutions. This evidence suggests that many aspects of personality, if not personality itself, are continually adapting to the environment's stimuli, reinforcements, expectations, opportunites, etc. This evidence will be reviewed briefly for its relevance to a theory of on-going adaptation, This review is intended to be neither exhaustive nor critical, but seeks only to reorganize existing knowledge, making it relevant to the proposed theory of social influence and the on-going adaptation of personality to the social milieu.

Central to the numerous and varied definitions of personality is the notion that personality is an enduring constellations of traits. The various definitions could be arranged on a continuum ranging from those which regard personality as being essentially coterminous with behavior to those whcih describe personality in terms of such core concepts as anal and oral personality, etc. In the case of the latter, current behavior is considered more as epiphenomenal, or expressions of a basic personality structure which is both the locus of personality and central to causal explanations of behavior. For example, miserliness is often assumed to be caused by anal fixations. Such theories are frequently ontogenetic,"as the twig is bent so grows the tree", and the fact that personality is consistent over time is cited as evidence of the enduring impact of early experience (Freud, 1927).

An alternative explanation to be examined here is that personality is enduring not solely because of the long-term effect of childhood experiences but because personality throughout the life cycle is continually adapting to relatively similar social milieu. Given enculturation in one social milieu the individual, then, is best adapted to such a milieu. This earlier preparation will lead him to seek out friends, jobs, organizations, spouses, etc. that are congruent with his earlier experiences. In numerous and varied ways, the individual *seeks out* and *is led* to social milieu that are psychologically congruent with the former social milieu. These early styles of personality adaptation then act as causal prototypes which perpetuate patterns of adaptation.

A theory of personality that emphasizes the importance of the on-going adaptation of personality to the social milieu is relevant for culture and personality studies. Culture and personality theorists, such as Spiro (1964), Fromm (1944), Benedict (1934), etc. have pointed out the functional fit between personality and social systems; that is, the individual's personality is suited to and adapted to his unique culture. Wallace (1970) has characterized culture and personality studies as being studies of either the replication of uniformity or the organization of diversity. Many culture and personality studies emphasize the importance of early childhood experiences, and employ an ontogenetic theory of personality to explain the functional fit of personality and culture. The proposed theory of an on-going adaptation suggests that, while childhood experiences are important, the individual is continually and significantly being influenced by his social experiences, and that part of the stability of his personlity over time is because he adapts to similar social milieu throughout his life.

Before examining selected social-psychological studies relevant to such a theory of on-going adaptation, it will be useful to organize these studies around the demands and expectations the social system makes on its actors vis à vis their personalities. Aberle, et al. (1950) delineates nine functional prerequisites necessary for the maintenance of a social system. While the paper is ostensibly sociological, its relevance for personality is ovious because each of the sociological prerequisites concomitantly requires that the personalities of the actors be shaped to meet the demands inherent in these prerequisites. In other words, each sociological prerequisite has a psychological counterpart for the individual.

Ideally, the psychological studies ought to be collated with the sociological prerequisites, but unfortunately the fields developed independently and this is not possible. This attempt seeks to emphasize the relevance of an on-going adaptation theory of personality for those culture and personality studies. In examining the various functional prerequisites and their psychological counterparts of shaping the actor's motivation, cognitive roles, etc., the feasibility of ontogenetic versus an on-going adaptation theory of personality should be considered. How necessary and adequate are ontogenetic explanations for explaining the shaping of the actors personality to meet the psychological demands inherent in these prerequisites and would an on-going social influence theory of personality be more adequate? The following is a brief description of these functional prerequisites, followed where possible by some relevant psychological studies. Other studies will be presented to delineate the nature and scope of on-going social influence in the shaping of personality:

(1) "Provision for adequate relationship to the environment and for sexual recruitment." Psychologically, this requires that individuals be trained in the skills necessary to manipulate the environment so as to provide for himself and the other members of the society those things which are necessary for biological life. In a technological society, this requires that individuals learn the skills necessary to earn a living. It further requires that individuals participate in sexual reproduction and child rearing. In this instance, the shaping of personality appropriate to vocation, reproduction, and child-rearing goes on in relatively adult years. While few psychological experiments could be conducted relevant to this prerequisite, it clearly entails relatively adult socialization, which suggests the appropriateness of an on-going theory of social influence.

(2) "Role differentiation and role assignment—this signifies the systematic and stable division of activites." The psychological counterpart is that individuals are motivated and learn the behaviors required to enact numerous roles, many of which are learned as adults. Studies in the social psychology of roles reviewed by Sarbin (1954), suggest that role behaviors can be and are learned as adults. For example, Janis and King (1954) had subjects enact roles espousing opinions contrary to their own. As a result of this role-taking, the subjects opinions shifted in the direction of the opinions they espoused. As with attitudes, many other aspects of role behavior such as styles in interpersonal relations, language, etc., are prescribed for specific roles. These role related behaviors, most of which are amenable to on-going social influences, account for a large percentage of the variability of human behavior.

(3) "Communication--no society, however simple, can exist without shared, learned symbolic modes of communication, because without them one cannot maintain the common value structure or the protective sanctions which hold back the war of each against all." Psychologically, individuals are required to learn and

use language if the social system is to function. This learning takes place primarily beyond the early years of life. A psychological experiment relevant to this social function of language was that of Schacter (1951), in which he found that in experimentally-created groups significant amounts of communication were directed at individuals who held opinions divergent from those of the group. This inordinant flow of communication continued until the group rejected the deviant individuals. This demonstrates the function of communication for maintaining the "common value structure." Numerous other studies in communication demonstrate that the learning and utilization of language occurs thorughout life, and that language is important for both the individual and the maintenance of the social system.

(4) "Shared cognitive orientations--in any society, the members must share a body of cognitive orientation which (a) makes possible the adaptation and manipulation of the situation; (b) makes stable, meaningful and predictable the social situations in which they are engaged and, (c) accounts for those significant aspects of the situation which they do not have adequate prediction and control over."

Psychologically, this requires that individual's cognition be sufficiently congruent with those around him, and suggests a life long process of consensual validation. The responsiveness of the individual's cognitions to immediate social influence was dramatically demonstrated by Asch (1951), who found that group pressure caused individuals to alter their perceptions and judgments about the length of a line. One third of the subjects whose perceptions of the lengths of lines were not congruent with the group's incorrect perceptions, altered their perceptions or judgments to conform to the group's stated perception. Only about one fourth of the subjects did not yield to the group pressure. This pressure to conformity was greatly mitigated when the subjects had allies to support their correct but unpopular perceptions. Scherif (1937), found that pre-existing norms influenced the direction and extent of the apparent movement of a light in an experiment using the autokinetic phenomenon. In these instances, adult subjects' cognitive orientations were affected by current social influences or group pressure.

(5) "A shared, articulated set of goals" requires

that individuals be motivated to achieve prescribed goals or, in the words of Fromm (1944), that the individual be made "to want to do what he has to do." Psychologically speaking, goal-oriented behavior occurs throughout life, vis à vis goals that change frequently and dramatically. This, in turn, requires that individuals change their behavior relevant to these newly cathected goals. This changing of goals and their goal-oriented behavior again suggests that individuals are responsive to the changing expectations of the environment. In an experiment, Douvan(1956) used the promise of reward or non-reward as an independent variable in her study of need-achievement in poverty and non-poverty boys. In the reward condition, the need-achievement motivation of both groups increased, but when the subjects were told that no rewards would be forthcoming, only the non-poverty boys' need-achievement increased. It may be that the non-poverty brought to the situations a high need-achievement which is aroused by the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to achieve or personal excellence. This was not so of the poverty group, whose arousal of need-achievement appeared to have been more contingent upon the promise of specific rewards. This group may have been less inclined to "rise to the bait" having been disappointed by many previously fruitless endeavors. An implication of this study is that a "core" motive, need-achievement, seems to wax and wane in relationship to the rewards and opportunities in the life space of the individual. Such a functional relationship may well occur between other motivations and the reinforcements available in the environment, which is important for a social influence theory of personality.

(6) "The normative regulation of means requires that the prescribed means for the attaining of goals be utilized." Psychologically, this requires that individuals be motivated to accept the means and to have the necessary skills, etc. to use them. As with goals, the means for obtaining goals change throughout life and individuals utilize a variety of means and their concomitant behaviors.

(7) "The regulation of affective expression requires that affect states of the members be mutually communicable and comprehensible, and furthermore not every affect can be expressed in every situation. Some must be suppressed or repressed. Lastly, there

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are affects that must be produced in members if the social system is to survive." Psychologically, this requires that the individual be trained regarding the expression, channeling, and comprehension of his and others' affect states. A relevant psychological experiment was conducted by Schacter (1962) in which he found that subjects who had been physiologically aroused by injections of epinephrine felt and expressed emotions appropriate to the cognitive structuring of the situation. In one situation they felt anger, and in another, they felt elation in response to the antics of an experimental confederate. Given a state of physiological arousal, the subjects cognitive interpretation of the situation determined which of the emotions would be felt and expressed, indicating that the arousal and expression of emotions are related to the immediate situation.

(8) "Socialization--to each individual must be transmitted as much of the method of dealing with the total situation as will render him capable of adequate performance in his several roles throughout his life." The individual requires a working knowledge of behavior and attitudes relevant to his various roles and to identify to some degree with

such values as are shared by the whole society. Psychologically, socialization begins at birth, and perhaps even sooner, but it continues throughout the life of the individual. Levinson's (1965) studies of the socialization of physicians are a case in point. It may be argued that the amenability of adults to be socialized is built in at an early age, but nonetheless individuals' personalities are continually being shaped to be "effective" in different situations. More of adult socialization will be discussed in the studies of total institutions.

(9) "Control of disruptive behavior." Psychologically, the control of disruptive behavior must be built into individuals so that they are motivated to want to do what in fact society requires them to do. This requires that individuals internalize mechanisms of self-control and that society be able to exert pressure on individuals to conform. Milgram (1963) found that individuals could be coerced into punishing subjects when they were told that they must punish their subjects. When the subjects were enmeshed in the system of authority in this experiment, many conformed despite personal abhorrence of the task. Milgram (1965) found, further, that when the individuals had a con-

federate who supported him in his resistance, the effectiveness of the coercion was mitigated. This suggests that an important supplement to internalized and functionally-autonomous self-contrl, "super-ego," is the on-going and external social control.

It is clear that each of these sociological prerequisites has a psychological counterpart with important implications for the shaping of personality so that it is functionally adapted to its social system. Current social influence exerted on an adult can explain much of his: (1) earning a living and reproducing; (2) enacting different roles; (3) communicating with his fellows; (4) sharing a set of cognitive oreientations with those he has contact with; (5) cathecting culturally accepted goals; and, (6) the prescribed means of achieving them; (7) expressing and recognizing certain affect states; (8) being socialized to enact his various goals; and, (9)controlling his disruptive behavior.

Such on-going psychological demands inherent in these prerequisites would seem to strain the explanatory powers of the more ontogenetic theories of personality. While some of the prerequisite motivating of people to conform is undoubtedly partially internalized in the early years, it seems that socialization is, more than has been recognized, an on-going phenomenon. These early experiences may provide prototypes for later patterns of adaptation but they are not, however, sufficient to explain much of adult behavior. A theory which regards the individual as constantly adapting to the demands of the force field, or life space, makes an important contribution to the understanding of current behavior.

In addition to these studies others might be included to delineate the nature and scope of social influence on personality.

Behavior. To the extent that behavior itself is an aspect of personality, social psychology has adequately demonstrated that behavior is highly responsive to current social influence. Lewin (1958) found that decision-making was affected by the context in which subjects received information. More decisions leading to greater changes of behavior occurred as a result of group discussion rather than as a result of receiving a lecture. Lewin, et al. (1939) found that in experimentally-created groups aggression, scapegoating, and irritability was more common in authoritarian groups than in democratic groups. Coch and French (1948) found that bringing factory workers into discussions concerning changing production methods significantly lessened their resistance to change.

Attitude. Numerous studies have demonstrated the importance of social influence on the formation and changing of attitudes. Deutsch and Collins (1951) found that racial prejudice decreased when individuals lived together as peers in an integrated housing development. Newcomb (1943), in a study of the effects of college life on student attitudes, found that the greater the involvement in college life, the greater was the acceptance of the liberal opinions which characterized the college. Hyman and Sheatsley (1947) discussed some of the reasons for the discrepancies between the radical changes in attitudes that can be induced in the laboratory and the relatively minor changes induced by information campaigns. They suggest that when individuals are forced to consider incongruent opinions, they are more vulnerable to change, as in the laboratory situation. However, the individual in a free situation tends to expose himself selectively to information which is congruent with his prior beliefs. An example of such selective exposure occured in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates (Maccoby, et al., 1962: p. 235). Even when "forced" to consider opposing views, as in these debates, individuals were able to filter out the opposing views by talking, drinking beer, and other distracting behavior. A crucial variable in the stability of attitudes appears to be the effectiveness of the selective exposure mechanism.

Self-Esteem. Few studies have been or can be conducted to demonstrate the relationship between the social milieu and self-esteem. Guthrie (1938) describes a quasi experiment in which a group of men improved self-esteem and popularity of an unattractive and shy girl by showing her attention. After the semester was over, the popularity and new-found confidence remained. Griffin (1961), in his book, Black Like Me, provides a narrative account of the impact of a new and unaccustomed environment on a white man who was temporarily black. With the mere changing of skin color, the man was exposed to a vastly new set of social encounters and experiences which affected his personality, particularly his self-concept.

Numerous other studies from the literature of group dynamics (McGrath and Altman, 1966) and the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) could be cited as evidence that much of the stability of personality is contingent upon the similarity over time of forces in the life space of the individual. Personality can be regarded as in dynamic equilibrium with the environment. It is involved in a process of continually influencing and being influenced by the on-going social forces.

The entire field of social psychology could be regarded as the study of social influence in which the social milieu in influences the individual's perceptions, motivations, interpersonal relations, self-concepts--that is, his personality. Such a broad view of personality has its locus in the individuals' interpersonal relations (Sullivan, 1963 and Mead, 1934).

Lewin (1935: p.41) summarizes such a view as follows:

> "Thus in the psychological fields, most fundamental to the whole behavior of living things, the transition seems inevitable to a Galillean view of dynamics, which derives all its vectors not from a single isolated object

> but from the mutual relations of factors in the concrete whole situation, but it is essential from the momentary conditions of the individual and the structure of the psychological situation. The dynamics of the process is always to be derived from the relation of concrete individuals to concrete situations, and so far as internal forces are concerned, from the mutual relationship of the various functional systems that make up the individual."

However, such experimental evidence must be considered with many reservations. Rosenthal (1968), in examining the nature of the experimental situation itself, has showed that subjects can, in subtle ways, be tipped off to the hypotheses being tested, and as a result are more likely to yield results which corroborate experimental hypotheses. Clearly, the force field of the experimental situation itself needs to be investigated. While these experiments might suggest that people, or at least subjects, are infinitely malleable, it should be recalled that they have dealt singly with isolated aspects of personality, i.e., specific attitudes, motivations, etc., and have not sought to influence total personalities permanently.

Another fundamental question is in regard to the salience of experimental situations. In studies of attitude change, the domain of attitudes to be changed was often such trivial issues as whether or not movies would be replaced by television, etc. It may be that given the trivial nature of the topic, the impact of experimental inductions are exaggerated. The validity and generalizability of social-psychological experiments are also questionable because of their reliance on biased samples of subjects, i.e., of sophomore college students in psychology course subject pools. Acquiescent-prone college students, amenable to the randomization of typical analysis, variance-design type of experiments, may have erroneously given undo credence to the notion that people in general are infinitely malleable, i.e., "funny putty."

The thousands of experiments in social psychology have not been organized into a uniform theory of social influence and personality. The experiments are often unrelated, isolated, and often defy comparitive evaluation, much less replication. If social psychology is to have greater theoretical and applied relevance for the study of personality, a greater use of field experiments may be necessary, because the experimental laboratory is clearly suspect as a source of elusive experimental artifacts and ungeneralizable results. For example, how often do real life situations create the unbroken uniformity utilized by Asch (1951) and Milgram (1963)?

The next type of evidence to be examined for its relevance to a theory of social influence is derived frome studies of stimulus deprivation. Heron (1953, 1956), discusses both the effects of a prolonged perceptual isolation on visual processes and the effects of a decreased variation in sensory environment. When inputs of stimuli were drastically reduced, subjects showed marked disturbances in their cognitive, auditory, and visual processes. In experiments where individuals were deprived of stimulus inputs by putting them in dark, sound-proof rooms, wrapped in cotton or floating in water, they experienced disturbances that bordered on psychotic-like hallucinations. After some experiences of prolonged stimulus deprivation, it was found that some individuals appeared to have lost their ability to judge the third dimension. One might assume that this ability is fixed early in life. Even individuals who do not have binocular vision continue to accurately judge the third dimension by using other visual cues. However, the individual is always receiving immediate feedback and reinforcement by his reaching, touching, and making estimates of distances, it may be that this continuous feedback is critical for maintaining this perceptual acuity.

In systems theory terms, the personality can be viewed as requiring inputs or "stimulus nutriment" in order to maintain the system, and when deprived of these inputs and the resultant "exercising" of these perceptual and cognitive processes, the system breaks down. If personality requires such inputs to maintain the system, then perhaps personality is not as fixed an entity as assumed. This would indicate the importance of on-going social influence, i.e., inputs for maintaining perceptual and cognitive processes, and perhaps even personality. The similarity of inputs over time could explain some of the stability of personality.

An important criticism of social psychology experiments is the superficial and non-salient nature of its experimenting with attitudes, motivation, behavior; i.e., personality. Evidence which meets such a criticism of superficiality or non-salience can be derived from the studies of psychopathology and psychotherapy. Many of the more clinically-oriented or psychoanlytic theories of personality tend to be ontogenetic, and tend to explain personality in terms of more "core" constructs. They often regard current behavior as epephenomena, reflecting basic neurotic conflicts, schizophrenic processes, and sociopathic defective super-ego development, etc. It can be argued that the superficial nature of the behaviors manipulated in experiments tend to be irrelevant to basic personality. However, this criticism of superficiality would be inapplicable to psychopathological behavior such as anxiety attacks, phobias, speech impediments, thought disorders, impotence, etc. They are accepted as being intimately and functionally related to "core" personality. If such salient behaviors are amenable to current social influence,the case for the amenability of personality to on-going social influence is greatley enhanced.

Ontogenetically-oriented theorists would argue that symptoms can only be "cured" with a more depth psychotherapy which addresses itself to underlying neurotic conflicts and seeks to reorganize basic personality structures. Behavior and family therapists have evidence that questions such an assumption. They might argue that there is simply current behavior which should be changed [illegible] adaptive and that, furthermore, it is more feasible to change behavior than to re-structure basic personality and alter psychodynamics. The results of Wolpe (1969) and others provide evidence that behavior therapy techniques have succeeded in changing (curing?) such salient behavior as phobias, impotency, self-defeating behaviors, etc. through a process of progressive desensitization. Similarly, Simmons and Lovaas (1969) have demonstrated the effectiveness of behavior modification techniques in the treatment of childhood schizophrenia. In this case, an indisputably meaningful instance of "core" psychopathology was demonstrated to be amenable to on-going social influence, i.e. therapeutic behavior modification. Such symptoms were not marginally functional but were the crux of the individual's psychodynamics. Contrary to some expectations, such symptoms or their functional equivalents do not reappear. A conclusion relevant to a theory of on-going adaptation is that if psychopathology can be affected by changes in current reinforcement contingencies, the case for the salience of current social influence is strengthened.

Similarly, the studies of family interaction and family therapy suggest that the maintenance of an individual's psychopathology is to a considerable extent created and maintained by the on-going family support for that pathology. Many clinicians have observed that individuals, isolated from their families, often make progress only to regress when they again become enmeshed in pathogenic family interaction patterns. It has also been observed that as one individual changes, others are likely to develop symptoms. Ackerman (1966) suggests that there are "sick" families one member of which has the presenting symptoms. He argues that the entire family requires treatment because the family interaction requires and has a vested interest in maintaining such pathology of adaptation of one of its members. For example, a depressed, passive alcoholic may be sincerely bemoaned by the family, but when he stops drinking, exerts himself, and "stands up for his rights" he becomes difficult and is likely to encounter family pressures to resume drinking and thus maintain the old and more "comfortable" family interaction patterns. Similarly, many patients returning from mental hospitals are often quickly responded to as a source of aggravation and discomfort, despite the awareness of the dangers inherent in long-term custodial hospitalization. Families may want to protect the patient, but "end up" regarding him not as an individual in danger of an iatrogenic illness such as chronic schizophrenia, but as a provocateur "up to the same old things." Quickly pressure mounts to interpret the behavior and respond to it in the customary way, often necessitating re-hospitalization. This may be one reason why families are so willing to isolate members of their families in hospitals and to abdicate their responsibility to those "better" qualified to help. For such reasons, it has been found necessary to treat entire families. Again, this is suggestive of the importance of current social influences in the maintenance of "core" psychopathology.

With regard to the etiology of schizophrenic thought disorder, Laing (1965), in his book Family, Sanity and Madness, has shown that the supposedly disordered thinking of schizophrenics was in fact a reasonable and comprehensible response to the conflictual communication in the family. Mischler (1965), in his review article on family interactions and schizophrenia, discusses the various hypothesized relationships between schizophrenic family interaction patterns, double-binding, etc., and the etiology of schizophrenic disorders.

For the purposes of the proposed theory of social influence and on-going adaptations, the evidence of behavior and family therapists strongly suggests that current social influences are of importance in the creation and maintenance of psychopathology. Unlike the more superficial experiments in social psychology, this provides evidence about the importance of current social influence for "core" personality. While this evidence is necessarily incomplete and does not lend itself to experimental verification, it does support the contention of the salience and relevance of ongoing social influence.

The final source of evidence relevant to the proposed theory of on-going adaptation is derived from the study of total institutions. Goffman (1961) describes total institutions as providing the necessities of life, activities, and social contact throughout the 24-hour day of the inmates in the context of a highly regulated and standardized daily routine which does not cater to the idiosyncratic needs of the inmates. It is further characterized by a caste system separating inmates and the custodians, with clearly defined expectations regarding their social interaction and status, etc. In these conditions, Goffman describes the mortification of the inmates as a process of depersonalization which includes the stripping of his rights and obligations in the outside life, such as choices about activities, dress, and social relations, etc. The effects of this are so dramatic so as to suggest that the chronic schizophrenia syndrome may be, partially at least, an iatrogenic illness, or adaptation to the hospital milieu of the "backwards." If normal individuals were subjected to custodial care for even a few years, their personalities might well become functionally adapted to the total institution; that is, become depressed, withdrawn, apathetic, day-dream or hallucinate, show flattened affect, etc., i.e., most likely indistinguishable from a true chronic schizophrenic, by current diagnostic procedures at least.

Bettleheim (1953) describes the dramatic effect of inmate life on those in the German prison camps. He hypothesizes that the final stage of adjustment was to identify with the aggressor, the German guards, by adopting their mannerisms, attitudes, and even wearing cast off pieces of their uniform. Considering the antagonism of this captor-prisoner relationship, it would seem a remarkable response, but when one takes into account the social forces impinging on the survivors, it becomes more comprehensible. In the prison camps of North Korea as described by Schein (1956), the Communists "brainwashed" prisoners and in many cases were able to obtain their cooperation and a greater acceptance of Communist ideology. One of their important techniques was the undermining of group resistence which was found to be crucial for resisting social pressure Asch (1958) and Milgram (1963). Self-criticism talks and reciting Communist ideology, i.e. the prisoner taking the role of the communist (Janis and King, 1954) were effective in changing soldier's opinions. Other studies of the deleterious effects of total institutions on personality are descibed by Sykes (1958) for a prison, and by Dornbush (1955) for a military academy.

While some of the more dramatic changes in personality come from institutions that mortify personalities, there are instances of the use of the total institution for rehabilitative programs, such as for disturbed children, Redl and Weinmen (1951), Bettleheim (1954), for the treatment of delinquents, Empi and Rabow, (1964: pp.509-539) and Perl (1964: pp.481-485). In summary, this evidence suggests that total institutions create a powerful field of social forces, capable of dramatically influencing the personalities of their inmates. The effectiveness of rehabilitative programs depends on their ability to marshal effectively the field of social forces for therapeutic purposes.

The evidence derived from the four areas of study delineate the importance and salience of ongoing social influence. Personality is defined in terms of a relatively stable constellation of traits, and the ontogenetic theorists have emphasized the enduring impact of early experiences in shaping and maintaining personality. Early experiences, including genetic and biological factors, account for some of this stability, but a relatively neglected component of that stability which has been partialled out neither theoretically nor empirically is the result of individuals adapting to similar milieux throughout their lives. That such a component of this stability exists is suggested by the evidence derived from social psychology, studies in social psychiatry, stimulus deprivation studies, and the studies of total institutions. The review of these studies was necessarily brief, and was intended to be neither exhaustive nor critical. Like all studies, these have inherent weaknesses with regard to their scope, methodology, comparability, and generalizability to real-life situations, etc. This evidence was taken out of context, and reinterpreted to support a proposed theory of on-going adaptation. It was suggested that field experiments, utilizing real life and thus, salient situations, would be of value in delineating and assessing the impact of on-going social influences on personality. Lest the pendulum of our thinking be encouraged to swing too far in the supra-environmentalist direction, it should be recalled that this proposed theory sought only to redirect attention to that relatively neglected component of the stability of personality which is the result of an on-going adaptation to similar social milieux throughout the life of the individual. It would be, however, inaccurate and overly zealous to suggest that individuals were merely "funny putty," always adapting to the demands and forces of the social milieu. It would be more accurate, and more productive to regard the personality as relatively autonomous. Rapaport (1951) proposes that the individual's ego is neither solopsistic, i.e., determined by inter-psychic forces as in the case of autism, nor totally stimulus-bound, i.e., responding completely passively, a state which is approximated in hypnotic trances.

If such an on-going theory of adaptation is to be useful, it must go beyond simply bolstering the super-organist views of Kroeber (1948), White (1947), and Durkheim (1951), etc. These writers emphasize that most human behavior, cognitions, social organization, language, etc. is determined by the culture. This says little more than that personality is primarily derived from what is available in the culture. Ultimately, this is true of course, but does not direct itself toward the range of problems which are truly psychological, i.e., understanding individuals. Such problems would include: (1) Why are individuals influenced by different aspects of their culture? (2) What is the relative contribution of family, community, and peer group, etc. in delimiting for the individual the repertoire of things to be learned? (3) What idiosyncracies of the individual lead him to integrate different aspects of his culture so as in some ways "to be like no other man"? These are some of the issues posed for a theory of social influence if it is to go beyond the superorganist position which subsumes psychology under a study of culture, vis a vis culture.

If this theory is to contribute to an understanding of personality, many psychological questions are raised, such as (1) What are the psychological traits that lead some individuals to be relatively solopsistic vs. being stimulus-bound or in Reisman's (1964) terms of being "inner-directed" and "outer-directed"? What is the etiology and nature of this amenability to social influence? (2) What are the psychological mechanisms which mediate existing social influences which may lead the individual to deny the existence of these influences, reinterpret them cognitively, or to selectively expose him to different social influences? (3) How do external social influences such as values become internalized? (4) What is the relationship between developmental stages of the individual and his amenability to social influence? Do the mechanisms for internalizing social influences change over time, and what are the mechanisms by which internalized change become irreversible? (5) Are there differences in the relationship between developmental stages and social influence vis a vis such specific aspects of personality as motivation, attitudes, interpersonal skills, etc? (6) In what areas and at what depths of personality is the individual amenable to those that are ephemeral and highly responsive to slight changes in the force field? Is there a middle range area of personality that is amenable to change which is also relevant to the treatment of mental health, delinquency, drug addiction, etc? These, then, are just some of the psychological problems posed by this theory of social influence. They must be explored if a theoretically fruitful and a socially applicable theory of on-going adaptations is to be developed and utilized.

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APPENDIX H

Matrix showing correlation coefficients for combined Vermont 1968 and Colorado 1967 of subjects own score on the 6 Raw Teenagers' Opinion Survey Scales and 14 High School Personality Questionnaire with his (1) First; (2) Second; and last choice of who he would like to tent with at the beginning and end of camp.

APPENDIX H

	FIRST	SECOND	LAST	FIRST	SECOND	LAST
T.O.S.	PRE CAMP			POST CAMP		
Work	.12	.08	.30*	.10	.21	.06
P. Resp.	.22	.07	.14	.23	.14	.02
Adult's	.23	-.22	.21	.13	.20	.13
Group E	.09	-.01	-.15	-.03	-.07	-.11
Alienation	.13	.04	-.12	-.01	.18	-.35*
I Am	.08	.08	-.15	.12	.04	-.11
H.S.P.Q.						
A	.43*	.24	.32*	-.21	-.05	.23
B	.16	.11	-.31*	.11	.07	.28
C	-.14	.20	.05	.21	.27*	.26
D	-.35*	-.10	.08	-.26	.14	.02
E	-.04	.05	.53*	.16	-.20	-.18
F	.39*	.12	.44*	.18	-.12	-.11
G	-.09	.07	.29*	-.07	.15	-.29
H	-.28*	-.17	.30*	.13	-.13	.05
I	.11	-.21	.15	.21	.03	.00
J	.17	-.35*	-.06	.06	.00	-.09
O	-.10	.21	-.05	.28*	.00	.39*
Q_2	.09	-.19	.31	.13	.27*	.41*
Q_3	.32*	.02	.24	-.07	.00	.05
Q_4	-.18	-.10	.21	-.15	.09	.16

* indicates a significant correlation $<.05$ for a two tailed test of significance.